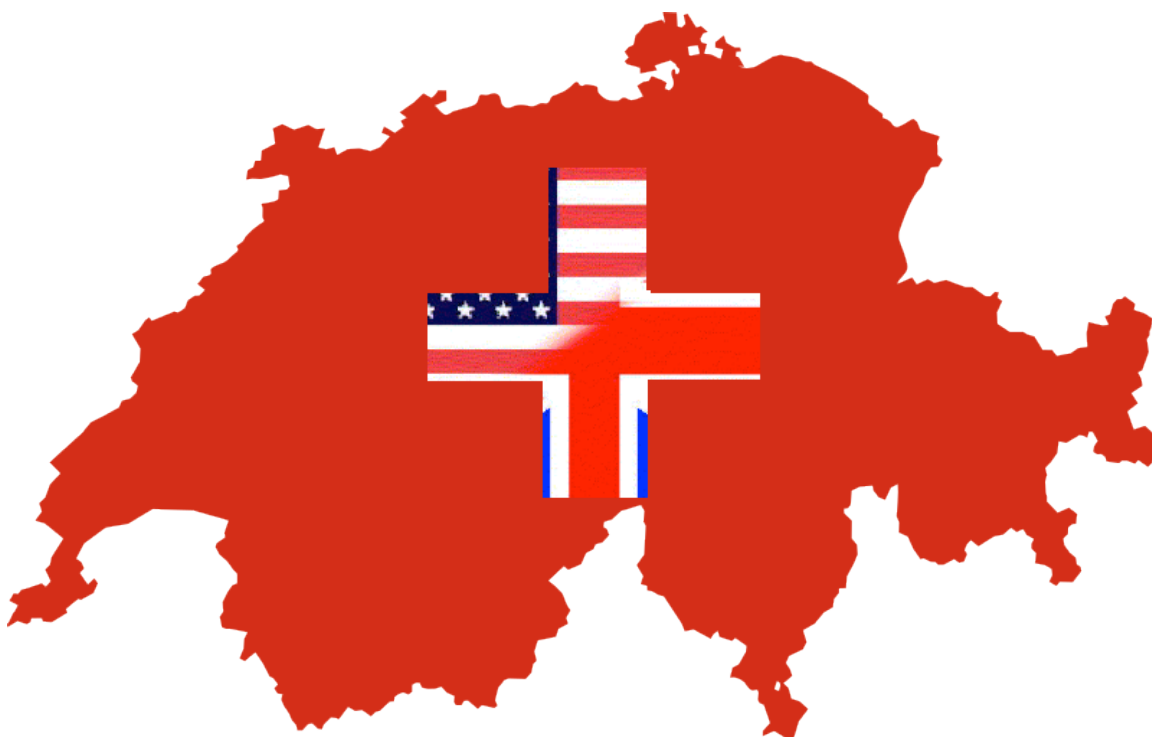


Perspectives on English in Switzerland

Edited by Patricia RONAN



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Perspectives on English in Switzerland

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PERSPECTIVES ON ENGLISH IN SWITZERLAND

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Abstract

In the context of this volume, which focusses on the position of English in the context of multilingual Switzerland, the characteristics of English as an international language and lingua franca are discussed and its position in teaching and education. This introductory chapter provides background information to contextualize the contributions in the volume. To do so, it outlines key developments in research into English in Switzerland and sketches the multilingual situation in Switzerland. It then proceeds to give an overview of the development of English as a world language and the domains of its use in Switzerland. This contribution argues that, like the world-wide spread of English, the use of English in Switzerland is now motivated both by pressure from international business and by the demands of language users.

Key-words: Multilingualism, English as an international language, Swiss English, language attitudes, majority languages, minority languages.

1. INTRODUCTION

The English language forms an unmissable part of many areas of public and private life in Switzerland. English words and expressions, such as *sorry*, *cool* or *oh my God*, are used in all the national languages of Switzerland, large population groups are able to speak English and use it regularly in business, education or travel contexts, and the question whether English poses a threat to the national languages and national cohesion is asked repeatedly, whereas the complaint that English should have a larger part in the curricula of Swiss school and university curricula can also be heard.

Naturally, Switzerland is not alone in this respect. Similar discussions can be found in other European countries as well as all over the world, and this fact pays tribute to the status of English as a world language and to its importance in international relations and international business. The situation in Switzerland is particular, however, due to the fact that in contrast to many other countries an identification of one country equalling one language does not apply here. Instead, one of Switzerland's special characteristics is its multilinguality and this fact arguably makes it easier for the English language to gain ground in Switzerland. In how far the English language has become a feature of Swiss reality, and what this new reality entails, are the questions that the current volume wants to investigate.

The volume brings together research on different aspects of English in Switzerland and focusses on the position of English vis-à-vis Swiss multilingualism, its characteristics as an international language and *lingua franca* and its position in teaching and education. In doing so it addresses new questions concerning the use of English in relation to the national languages of Switzerland, fills lacunae and highlights recent developments. Naturally, more topic areas would have merited further close scrutiny: the use of English in the media, attitudes towards the English language in various population groups or more detailed analyses of the relationship between English and the different national languages on the one hand, or with other international varieties on the other hand. Hopefully these and further areas of research will receive further scholarly attention in the near future. This introductory chapter aims to provide the reader with background information on an outline history of the study of English in Switzerland, multilinguality in Switzerland, and the status and history of English language use in the country. The introduction will close with an outline of the contribution to this volume. In order to avoid book-length dimensions of this introduction alone, the discussion unfortunately needs to remain short and selective.

Pioneering work on the use of English in Switzerland has been carried out by Urs Dürmüller, and his first comprehensive study on the subject was published in 1986. This study has been followed by a number of books and articles on Swiss multilinguality and the status of English in this context (e.g. 1997, 2002). A researcher who has had a large impact on driving forward the topic of the English language in Switzerland is Richard J. Watts. In Andres and Watts (1993), status and domains of English in Switzerland are discussed and questions are asked that pave the way for a major research project on the English language in Switzerland. A project on English in Switzerland started in 1999 (Franzen 2001: 9, Dröschel 2011: 151-52) to determine consequences of the early introduction of English in primary schools, the spread of English in academia, its spread in multinational companies and potential formation of a normative variety. The resulting volume (Watts and Murray (eds.) 2001) gives an overview on the use of English in different societal contexts. A later research project, based at the universities of Basel, Berne and Fribourg, on the English language in Switzerland, investigated English language use and the specificities of the language used. This project has resulted, amongst a number of articles, in three doctoral dissertations and the later publication of related monographs: Rosenberger (2010), Dröschel (2011), and Durham (2014). Each places the use of English in its international as well as the Swiss contexts, but adopts different foci. Rosenberger (2010) highlights the question whether a specific focussed variety of Swiss English has developed. Dröschel (2011) emphasizes the role of simplification and transfer in the development of Swiss English learner varieties. Durham's

(2014) published volume focusses on the role of sociolinguistic competence in the Swiss learner varieties.

Work by Georges Lüdi has focussed on multilingualism in Switzerland. Lüdi and Werlen (2005) investigate in detail the results of the Swiss census of the year 2000. Particular emphasis is put on multilingual practices in the workplace in Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart (2010), and in Berthoud, Grin and Lüdi (2013), which presents the results of the Dylan project on the use of multilingual practices at work from an international context. François Grin (e.g. also 2001) has repeatedly also investigated the economic value that can be assigned to languages.

Agnieszka Stepkowska has produced various studies on Swiss multilingualism (e.g. Stepkowska 2010, 2013) and focusses on individual versus societal language competences. Other valuable research has been carried out particularly on specific aspects of the presence of English in Switzerland, underlining its large presence in public life, both in communication with foreigners and in intra-national communication. While Hohl (1995) still shows deficiencies in the English language skills of employees of the Swiss Federal Railway, a growing number of studies points to the increasing importance of the language in public life. It can be found in virtually all areas of public life, as shown, amongst others, by studies on language use in the Swiss army (Berthele and Wittlin 2013), at Swiss universities (Murray and Dingwall 1997, Murray 2001, Dürmüller 2001), in advertising (Cheshire and Moser 1994, Bonhomme 2003, Strässler 2003, Schaller-Schwaner and Tschichold 2004, as well as a number of studies in the context of postgraduate theses at different universities in Switzerland).

In the following an overview of key topic areas concerning the linguistic situation of Switzerland will be given. After outlining key features of Swiss multilinguality, the history and the status of the English language will be sketched.

2. THE LANGUAGES IN SWITZERLAND AND THEIR STATUS

Officially, Switzerland has four national languages, but in practice this does not mean that all Swiss people are multilingual. As various authors points out (e.g. Dürmüller 1997: 58, Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 103, Stepkowska 2010, Durham 2014: 36), while some bi- or even trilingual Swiss people are found, this is not true for the average population. In practice German speakers prevail, followed by French and Italian speakers, Romansh speakers form a small minority. According to the Federal Statistics Office of Switzerland (FSO), and the latest figures available at the time of publication of this volume, in 2013 the population of Switzerland amounted to nearly 7,945,000. Of these, 63.5% declared German to be their main

language, followed by 22.5% French speakers, 8.1% Italian speakers and 0.5% speakers of Romansh¹. 21.7% of the population speak other languages as their main language, and English forms the largest subgroup of these (4.4% of the population).

Of the 26 cantons of Switzerland, 17 cantons are officially monolingual German speaking, whereas only four are French-speaking: Geneva, Vaud, Jura, Neuchâtel, the Ticino is Italian-speaking. Only three cantons are officially bilingual: Berne, Fribourg and Valais have German and French bilingualism. Grisons is an officially trilingual canton with German, Romansh and Italian-speakers (Dürmüller 1997: 9 and various other authors). In these multilingual cantons, the largest rates of multilingualism are found along the language borders. A principle of linguistic freedom means that every speaker from any of these linguistic regions should be able to use their own first language in any situation of national interaction. A territoriality principle, on the other hand, means that contacts with public authorities should take place in the language of the region (Dürmüller 1997: 12). For large numbers of the population the territorial principle means that they do not use any languages but their own (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 29). The authors argue that high levels of monolingualism may further increase the reluctance to learn other national languages and may facilitate the spread of English (*loc. cit.*: 103). Extrapolating from Federal Statistics Office data, Durham (2014: 36) shows that on average, 60% of the Swiss population do not typically use any other languages than their own. Monolingualism is generally highest in the rural, inner-Swiss, eastern cantons (Appenzell, Uri, Obwalden) and lowest in the economic and financial hubs Geneva, followed by Basel-Town, Zurich and Zug, followed by the trilingual canton of Grisons.

Generally, German speakers being significantly more numerous than the other linguistic groups, a fear of Germanisation (Dürmüller 1997: 25) has been observed. This is a particular issue for the linguistic groups that are most affected by increasing numbers of German speakers, Romansh in the Grisons and Italian in the Ticino, which can result in antipathy towards to majority language group by the minorities. Dürmüller points out that this is less the case for the Romansh speakers' attitudes towards German, however (*loc. cit.*: 29).

As indicated above, L1 speakers of German form the majority of the Swiss population. In the year 2013, they accounted for 63.5% of the Swiss population according to the FSO. Interestingly, while the population of Switzerland has seen a large increase from just over 6 million in 1970 to just under 8 million people in 2013, the percentage of German speakers has fallen from 66.1% in 1970 to its present percentage. This decrease in the share of German

¹ <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/05/blank/key/sprachen.html>, last accessed 03.01.2016.

speakers over these 42 years is likely to due to the steep increase of the percentage of speakers of other languages, which show a rise from 3.7% of the population in 1970 to the above-mentioned 21.7% in 2013 according to the FSO data (FSO, *ibid.*).

A particular feature of the use of German in Switzerland is the wide-spread use of local, Alemannic-based dialects, *Schwyzerdütsch* or *Schwyzertütsch*, for oral communication in all areas of private life and in many areas of public life, except for the most formal situations of communication: thus, school and university teaching is typically carried out in Standard German, and so are the news programmes on the stations of the state broadcasting television channels, SRF, but the weather forecast is already given in Swiss German. Though Swiss German is avoided in formal writing, it can also be used in informal genres of writing, such as texting or small-ads sections of newspapers.

The number of L1 speakers of French has risen from 18.4% in 1970 to 22.5% in 2013. As also observed by Rosenberger (2010: 108), the French-speaking population of Switzerland, the Romands, are generally well-represented in federal organisations and in national politics. Thus at the time of writing, three of the seven members of the federal government are francophone, while the remaining four are germanophone. Economically, some parts of the French speaking area, the Romandie, are very strong, particularly the area bordering on Lake Geneva.

In contrast to German speaking Switzerland, dialects are less prominent in the Romandie. While certain regional varieties can be recognized, e.g. in the Canton of Vaud or around Lake Neuchâtel, traditional dialects, commonly known as *patois* are on the brink of extinction and generally described as hardly to be found (Dürmüller 1997: 26, Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 39, Rosenberger 2010: 108-9). This *patois*, which forms part of the franco-provençal dialects of French and was still spoken by large numbers of the population of the Valais in the 19th century, but then receded dramatically. The dialects are still spoken by some, but also left behind a number of dialect words in contemporary local varieties of French (Grüner 2010: 9-10).

The presence of the Italian language in Switzerland has seen a steady decline between 1970, where it was given as a first language by 11% of the populations, and 2000, where it was indicated as the L1 of 6.5%. There has been a rise of Italian as a first language since then, however, and 8.1% of the Swiss population named it as their L1 in 2013 (FSO, *loc. cit.*). Italian is mainly spoken in the Ticino, but it is also the main language of parts of the southern Grisons. The presence of dialects is strong (Dürmüller 1997: 26), particularly in local and family communication, but the dialects are losing ground in comparison with standard Italian (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 40). As discussed by Deluigi (2015: 15-6), this may be due to loss of

traditional communities as well as to the presence of increasing numbers of non-dialect speaking immigrants.

As various authors point out, Italian has a less strong position in intra-national communication in Switzerland (e.g. Dürmüller 1997: 49, Rosenberger 2010: 107-8). In contrast to the population groups in German and French speaking Switzerland, the population in the canton of Ticino has to learn not only one, but two other national languages in school, German and French, and English as a third foreign language in addition (Dürmüller 1997: 74, Rosenberger 2010).

Romansh is the national language with fewest speakers in Switzerland. Numbers of L1 speaker of Romansh have decreased from 0.8% of the population in 1970 to 0.5% in 2013 (FSO, loc. cit.). Unlike German, French and Italian, which are languages that are used for federal government and administration, Romansh is not specified as a language of government, but its speakers have the right to address the authorities in their native language (Swiss Federal Constitution 1999, art. 4 and 70, cf. also Berthele, this volume). Its status is thus “semi-official” (Dröschel 2011: 116). The language is split into five main dialects with their own written traditions. In order to facilitate official communication a standard dialect, *Rumantsch Grischun*, has been created in 1982 (Rash 1998: 20, Dürmüller 1997: 26).

Romansh belongs to the Rhaeto-Romanic group of languages and, in contrast to the other national languages of Switzerland, does not possess any neighbouring countries in which the language is also spoken, even though sister languages Ladin in Italy and Friulian in Trento and Bolzano also exist as minority languages (Verra and Fäcke 2014: 433). In predominantly Romansh speaking communities, schooling is carried out in Romansh at first, but German is progressively introduced into the curriculum with the goal to ensure equal competence in both languages and over time replaces Romansh as main language of instruction (Verra and Fäcke 2014: 445). In German speaking areas of the Grisons, Italian is generally taught as a second language, rather than Romansh (loc. cit.: 446). Teacher education in Romansh is ensured in the pedagogical high-school in the cantonal capital of Chur.

In order to ensure linguistic diversity, efforts are being made not only by language activists, but also on an administrative level to maintain linguistic diversity. Rash (1998: 26) points to the efforts taken both by the government and by Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education, but cautions as well that German speaking Switzerland is dominant due to its considerably larger population numbers.

However, a problem that is repeatedly reported in the linguistic interaction of different language groups in Switzerland is the use of dialect (Dürmüller 1997: 27-8, Rosenberger

2010: 109-10, Dröschel 2011: 114-5, Durham 2014: 44). Particularly the predominating use of Swiss German dialect for oral communication, rather than Standard German, is frequently cited as a problem for learners of German from other linguistic areas of Switzerland, who acquire Standard German, rather than Swiss German, in school. The use of dialect does remain strong, however, not least because it forms a strong identification feature and marker of “Swissness” (Watts 1999: 75, Stepkowska 2013: 173-76). At the same time the prominence of Swiss German strengthens a certain clichéd cultural and political dividing line between German speakers in Switzerland and speakers of Romance languages, which, in relation to relations between speakers of French and of German, is referred to as *Röstigraben*, the *Rösti*-rift, which makes reference to a traditional Swiss German potato dish. While Dürmüller (1997: 29) mentions possible resentments of minority groups towards German speakers, he also argues (loc. cit.: 36-7) that a division corresponding to the *Rösti*-rift is not found between German- and Italian-speaking Switzerland. However, Deluigi (2015: 12) shows on the basis of 1996 FSO data and research done by Kriesi (1996) that at that time more than 70% of Swiss Italian speakers considered there to be a barrier, while more than 45% of German speakers thought there was none. These figures do indicate that there are perceived differences between the population groups in Switzerland and a certain lack of intermixture of the population groups and their cultures can and has been observed (Dürmüller 1997: 29, Stepkowska 2013: 170-71).

Thus, given the differing linguistic competences and societal pressures in Switzerland, different language choices will be made whenever languages come in contact in Switzerland. On this Dürmüller (1997) comments

Does a person from Vaud who settles in the commercial centre of Zurich communicate in German, or maybe even in Zurich dialect, or can he expect the Zurich locals to understand French? Does a Basle pensioner who wants to spend her remaining years in Ticino learn Italian, or does she expect the locals to speak German to her? Can a Ticinese student in Berne expect to get by in Italian or does she have to adjust linguistically? Does a German- or French-speaking Swiss tourist in the Lower Engadine speak Rhaeto Romanic to his or her skiing instructor? And what language do industrialists from the Ticino, the Romandie and German Switzerland opt for when they have a business meeting? Answers to such questions differ. While the Vaudois in Zurich will ordinarily be expected to adapt, the Basle pensioner in the Ticino will not. An Italian-speaking student in Berne will have no choice but to learn German, and probably even Swiss German, but the tourist in the Lower Engadine will not have to

bother with Rhaeto Romanic. And the business people may solve their dilemma by settling on English (Dürmüller 1997: 19).

What Dürmüller raises in this extract are scenarios that envisage intranational discourse on the basis of two different models. On the one hand this is a version of multilinguality, which will expect people to master the language of their interlocutor, and either demand multilingualism of each of the partners (Dürmüller 1997: 60-65, Lüdi, this volume), or expect one person adapts linguistically to their communication partner. On the other hand, a neutral *lingua franca* may be chosen, English. In how far the use of English has become an alternative is the focus of this volume, as well as of the following section.

3. ENGLISH IN SWITZERLAND

3.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the beginning of its history in 1291, the Swiss Confederation was formed of German speaking cantons and, in spite of the later association of originally French speaking cantons, the official language remained German until 1798. Then, in the wake of Napoleonic military intervention, the new Helvetic Republic was formed and with changing political fortunes, so did languages. German, French and Italian were finally given equal rights as national languages in the Constitution of 1848. These national languages were joined by Romansh in 1938 (cf. Rosenberger 2010: 102-3, Stepkowska 2013: 166-67).

English is a comparatively recent arrival on the linguistic map of Switzerland. Pre-World War II, contacts between the national languages and English were slight and mostly restricted to individual contacts with English speaking tourists, amongst which Lord Byron, Percy Shelly, Henry James or Louisa May Alcott, or to borrowing words for cultural innovations (Dürmüller 2002: 115, Durham 2014: 40). The conceptual distance between especially Swiss German English in the pre-war period is illustrated by the fact that loanwords from English were repeatedly introduced into Swiss German pronounced like French (ibid.). Interestingly, this can still be observed in standard pronunciations, e.g. on news casts, of words like *Cup*, as in *Davis-Cup*, or *lunch* with French rather than English pronunciation of the <u>. After World War II, however, the presence of English has also been increasing in Switzerland and its influence can be felt in various domains such as the economy, science and technology, or entertainment and leisure (Dürmüller 2002: 116).

The world-wide spread of English started with English expansionist policies into the Celtic countries during the 16th and 17th century. In a step of further internationalisation,

during these centuries overseas' expansions went under way into North America and trade relations were established with East Africa, with India and South East Asia. In the 18th century, Australia and New Zealand were claimed for England and colonization took place of the South African Cape. In the early 19th century, Florida, Louisiana and California were acquired. These centuries present a period of massive growth of the English sphere of influence, of trade relations and of the English language.

This spread of English influence, culture and language was based on both military and economic strength. While in the countries of contact, the local languages represented cultural coherence, the English language was associated with knowledge and success. This new prestige of the English language arose, at least in part, due to the scientific and technological innovations made Britain and American during the 18th and 19th centuries (Crystal 1997: 72-75). The ensuing acquisition of the English language by local population groups resulted in the development of foreign language and eventually second language varieties on the basis of contacts with the native speakers, and in the cases of countries where (almost) complete language shift to English took place (such as the United States of America, Ireland), to the development of first language varieties of English (Barber 1993: 234-38, Crystal 1997). The English language more and more was not only used by people who had grown up as English speakers, but also by others who adopted it as an economic tool, based at first on the power of the British Empire. More recently, however, it has increasingly been American, rather than by British, cultural and economic influence that fuelled the international success of English (Barber 1993: 238, Crystal 1997: 53, Mair 2002: 160).

Both internal developments in the English speaking countries, as well as the international spread of English exercised influence on the rise of the number of English speakers. While it is estimated that there were still less than five million speakers of English in 1600, in England alone the population tripled from nine million to thirty million during the 19th century due to the industrial revolution, while in America it even rose to seventy-six million speakers of English at the turn of the 20th century (Barber 1993: 234-36). Nowadays speaker numbers are more difficult to determine. Rough estimates have been posited around 1.75 billion, with non-native speakers outnumbering native speakers by 4:1 (British Council 2013: 4-5). In order to explain the phenomenal international success of the English language, two types of explanations are typically put forward (Mair 2002). On the one hand these are explanations that argue that even though there is no more imperial control, the English language is now spread by British and American language planning policies. Adoption of the English language leads to the loss of national languages and concomitant loss of self-esteem and cultural identity (Mair 2002: 160-63). An alternative point of view, the grassroots model,

focusses on the demands made by language users. The spread of the English language, it is argued, is a decentralized phenomenon and driven by language users' choices of English over other languages for its promise of modernization and globalization. Rather than being a tool of Anglo-Saxonization, it is an ideologically neutral *lingua franca*, which the communities appropriate and make their own (Mair 2002: 163-65). Evaluating the validity of the two points of view, Mair endorses a moderate version of the second, language-user driven model, arguing that language users eventually adapt the new languages to their own purposes (loc. cit.: 166-67).

3.2 WHAT IS THE STATUS OF ENGLISH IN SWITZERLAND?

According to the 2013 population census, 4.4% of the Swiss population use English as their main language (FSO, loc. cit.), which presents a notable increase from the 2000 census, in which the use of English as an L1 still stood at 1%. A detailed investigation of which population groups use English, and for what purposes it is used, is provided by Lüdi and Werlen (2005), based on data from the 2000 census.

Lüdi and Werlen show that English is regularly used in the working environment: it is used by 23.4% of the population in German speaking Switzerland, by 17.7% in the Romandie and by 11 % in Italian speaking Switzerland, and by 8.2% in Romansh speaking regions (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 47-57, cf. Durham 2014: 37). In all linguistic regions the main users of English at work were academics and members of the top and higher level management and independent professionals (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 68). The use of English is particularly strong in the financial hubs of the country (e.g. Zurich, Zug, Geneva) and can be seen as an urban, more than a rural phenomenon (Durham 2014: 38). Particularly multi-national companies may introduce English as a general company language, and reason of efficiency, cost-effectiveness and modernity are cited (Franzen 2001: 13-17, Stotz 2001: 126-28). This increasing anglicization changes traditional company culture and it causes higher internationalization, but at the same time puts a strain on employees with lower levels of English (Stotz 2001: 126-28). Further representative studies have shown that salary levels of employees indeed increase with higher competences in the English language (Grin 2001). This, however, is more pronounced in German speaking Switzerland than in the Romandie, where German has an even higher economic value (loc. cit.: 117). Grin interprets these findings as particularly pointing to the international, more than the local, importance of English and he cautions that this economic advantage will lessen with increasing competences in English in the general population of Switzerland (loc. cit.: 118-19).

Moving on to the use of English in the education sector, of the people undergoing education, overall 14.5% stated that they spoke English regularly, not counting classroom activities. The authors note these figures are particularly high for non-Swiss nationals (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 79), who might be attending international schools. But the status of English in school has also been strengthened by the hotly debated move of some cantons to introduce English as a first foreign language in primary school, which is seen as a threat to national coherence by some parties (compare the discussions e.g. in Aebeli 2001, Stauffer 2001, Rosenberger 2009: 125-29, Dröschel 2011: 120-22).

At third level institutions, regular use of English is indicated by 40% of the informants (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 72, cf. Durham 2014: 38). Investigating language use at the University of Berne at the turn of the millennium, Murray (2001: 86-92, 98) finds that few courses are in fact taught or even partly taught in English. On average about 50% of the course reading is in English, however, with English being prominent in biomedical subjects and also natural sciences, but rarer in the humanities and social subjects. Similarly, less than one third of researchers from humanities and social sciences reported presenting their research in English, while about three quarters in natural science and biomedicine did so, stating that they would otherwise lose visibility. Generally the students auto-evaluated their competence levels in English to be good, better than in the French language which they had studied longer in secondary educations, but would nevertheless appreciate more English tuition at university (loc. cit.: 93-96). While this research focusses on Berne, it has also been observed, however, that universities in French and Italian speaking parts of the country used English less than in the German speaking part (Dürmüller 2001: 398).

The presence of English in public discourse has been studied from the point of view of its presence in politics, in the media, in the news, or in advertising. From the 1980ies onwards, Coray (2001: 162-63) identifies the increasing spread of English as a topic of complaint in Swiss discourse on languages. She points to repeated motions in Parliament, mostly from a critical point of view, to legislate for its use in different contexts. In the press, too, the topic of English is discussed more frequently, with a focus on its effect on the relationship between the population groups as well as on the question of when it should be taught in school (Coray 2001: 164-72). In the context of advertising, the use of English is seen as being cost-efficient (because one English language advertisement can be used instead of three or four in the separate language regions), and attractive because the English language in advertisements indicates high status and modernity (Cheshire and Moser 1993, Bonhomme 2003, Stässler 2003, Schaller-Schwaner and Tschichold 2004).

Indisputably, the English language has a strong status as a foreign language within the country. It has repeatedly been argued that English also performs certain *lingua franca* functions within Switzerland: from originally having been used with English speaking tourists only, it is now not only used by non-Swiss resident population groups and in interaction with foreigners, but under certain circumstances also when Swiss citizens with different linguistic backgrounds come together (e.g. Dröschel 2011, Dürmüller 2001, Durham 2014, Rosenberger 2010, Stepkowska 2013, Watts and Murray 2001). The rise of English in Switzerland can certainly at least partly be attributed to the rise of English as an international language and its resulting increased use in international business relations. Additionally, further specifically Swiss features make English an attractive language choice for cross-linguistic contacts within Switzerland. Durham (2014: 41-4) identifies its neutral status, its economy of expression, language learning and comprehension features, as well as the diglossic situation particularly in German speaking Switzerland as further motivating factors.

First, when using English, none of the participants of a putative conversation between speakers of different L1s would be at a disadvantage because none of the participants would be using their own native language, therefore deciding on a foreign language for everyone could be seen as fair. This point is also made by Dröschel (2011: 141-42), as well as by Deluigi (2015: 116, 121-22), who, based on a study of high-school students in Lugano, particularly underlines the importance of this point for the minority of Italian speakers in Switzerland. Second, in the situation of Swiss multilingualism, communication involving different language groups requires provision of information in all national languages. Using only one language which is understood by everyone, English, instead provides a cost- and time-efficient alternative (Grin 2001, Cheshire and Moser 1994). Third, Durham argues that language learners from different population groups consider English to be an easier language to use than the other languages, possibly partly increased by positive attitudes towards English as well as its presence in everyday life.

The question of language attitudes no doubt is a crucial one. Schwarz *et al.* (2002) investigate language attitudes of 280 informants from the German and the French speaking parts of Switzerland. They show that after the national languages, in the order French, Swiss German, Italian, their informants name the English language as being their favourite language (2002: 52). English is thus rated highest after the national languages (but before Romansh), which are also the informants' mother tongues, and it is the most favourably connotated among the non-national languages. This positive attitude to English is also confirmed for Swiss Italian high-school students in the Ticino Deluigi (2015: 118).

Durham's fourth point in favour of the English language is the prominent use of Swiss German dialect in German speaking Switzerland. This existing diglossia means that French and Italian speakers, who learn Standard German in school, suffer from comprehension problems when using German. This problem is avoided when using English.

Naturally, the increasing use of English is not welcomed unanimously. Its real and imagined dangers to Swiss multilingualism are pointed out by various authors (Dürmüller 1997, Coray 2001: 173-74, Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 103, Demont-Heinrich 2005). Clearly, Mair's (2002) discussion of the spread of English outlined in 3.1 can also be applied to Switzerland. Watts (2001) shows that English has been viewed as a threat to multilingual Switzerland. Yet he also describes a competing discourse on the status of English in Switzerland, which assigns international and especially economic importance to the language, but restricted national importance. In Switzerland, English can be seen as an imperialist language in at least two senses. First, it is seen as presenting a danger to Swiss languages and culture (Dürmüller 2002: 116). Second, it often is the language not of local, but of multinational companies (Grin 2001) and of international business. Ability to use English is a key to success in the working world, particularly but not exclusively in German speaking Switzerland (e.g. Dürmüller 1997: 71, Rash 1998: 47, Franzen 2001: 15-16, Grin 2001, Rosenberger 2010: 119-21, Dröschel 2011: 129-33), not wanting to use English, or lacking the ability to do so, would mean restricted chances both for individuals and companies. On the other hand, English is a popular and prestigious and considered to be the most useful language in Switzerland (Lüdi and Werlen 2005, Werlen and Rosenberger 2011), which language users demand to be given a chance to learn as an L2 (Dürmüller 1997: 69, Coray 2001: 169-70, Stepkowska 2013: 178). Thus, in Switzerland, too, we can identify both the widespread, popular interest in English as well as the economic demand conditioned by its status as a global language.

4. CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE VOLUME

The contributions in the current volume focus on the topic areas of multilingualism in Switzerland, English as a *Lingua Franca*, and language acquisition. Addressing language planning issues in multilingual Switzerland, Raphael Berthele shows that language management according to the territoriality principle disadvantages linguistic minorities. He finds that there is no status planning for immigrant languages, including English, and that multilinguality involving non-territorial languages often correlates with lower social class while multilingualism in the national languages and English is found in the most highly educated classes.

Providing examples of multilinguality from various domains of public life and from different types of economic contexts in Switzerland, Georges Lüdi investigates multilingual practices in the public domain and in the workplace and assesses the debate about English and Swiss national languages at school. He finds that, while English dominates in external business communication, internal communication often uses *lingua franca* English supplemented with and influenced by the multilingual competences of the team members to communicate efficiently.

Taking up again the issue of multilingual practices, Agnieszka Stępkowska's contribution focusses on multilingualism in the canton of Zurich. Based on the results of a telephone survey conducted in 2011, she illustrates the symbiotic relationship between the Swiss languages and English. Comparing English in Switzerland and the international growth in the status of English, she proposes a model that accounts for changes in multilingual settings if one language develops *lingua franca* functions, as is done by the English language.

In the second thematic section, two papers deal with impact and use of English as an international language and as a *lingua franca*. Mathieu Deboffe's study investigates and compares the use of English loan words in teenage language in the French of Switzerland and France. He shows that, in spite of restrictive language politics in France and no such restrictions in Switzerland, the respondents from both countries have equally favourable attitudes towards such use of *franglais* and use it extensively.

Studying forms and features of English as a *lingua franca* in Switzerland, Mercedes Durham's contribution focusses on sociolinguistic competence displayed by Swiss speakers of English. She shows that three typical outcomes can be found. While English as a *Lingua Franca* speakers may acquire typical variation patterns of the standard language, they may likewise fail to acquire such variation entirely, or they may develop new patterns on the basis of the input which they have received. Speakers of different *lingua franca* varieties may show different outcomes in the development of a feature. The likelihood of native-like acquisition of such a feature seems to be determined by its frequency and the amount of extant lexical variation.

The third thematic section of this volume deals with issues of language teaching and acquisition. Simone E. Pfenninger examines the association between starting age of language acquisition and performance in comparison with different types of instruction and motivation in order to determine the outcomes of early versus later onset of school teaching in English. She finds that instruction type and motivation levels are in fact better predictors of learning success than the starting age of language acquisition. She shows that there is a bi-directional

causal link between Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes and motivation and CLIL and learner outcomes.

Adriano Aloise investigates the impact of motivational factors on middle and high school students in Lausanne. He finds that while there are no significant differences between integrative and instrumental motivation in his informants, the students' own multilinguality, as well as previous stays abroad were important factors that had an impact on their motivation to learn English.

Adrian Pablé's study approaches the study of English from the perspective of *integrational linguistics*. Relating questions on 'Swiss English' to other international varieties of English, he urges linguists to take a broader and less structuralized view on English linguistics and on the English language, both in their research and in their university teaching, and he questions the validity of some of the normative teaching approaches in primary school teaching. He proposes that we should be looking less at abstract systems and more at why languages are 'given'.

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DEMOGRAPHY VS. LEGITIMACY: CURRENT ISSUES IN SWISS LANGUAGE POLICY

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Abstract

This paper discusses current language policy debates on national and immigrated languages in Switzerland. Problems with the principle of territoriality, which represents a locally monolingual regime in an officially quadrilingual country, and other issues related to the legal status of languages are discussed. The proportional representation of the national minorities and the use of their languages in particular contexts such as the federal administration or the army is discussed, as well as the current debate on which foreign languages should be given priority in compulsory primary education. Drawing on language ideology research, the contribution shows how specific aspects of linguistic diversity are focused and addressed in particular contexts (e.g. national languages, standard languages), whereas others are backgrounded, denied legitimacy or simply erased (e.g. immigrated languages, dialects). The discussion addresses also the demographic weight of the languages and varieties in Switzerland as well as in the world and uses census data to illustrate the stability and changes regarding the official and immigrated languages across time.

Language policy, linguistic diversity, status planning, Switzerland, foreign language instruction

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS¹

Linguists are not immune to language ideologies. Linguists' "language regard" (Preston 2010), i.e. the way we mentally construe languages and varieties, is an important part of the public discourse on language matters. Funding in applied linguistics and language teaching also depends on the relevance attributed to questions of language management by those who provide the funds. We consider our topic socially pertinent and generally do not complain about it being a subject of political and institutional debates. Benefitting from public funds for research on the status and the teaching and learning of national and non-national languages, however, does not absolve us from a minimal scholarly research requirement: awareness of the ideological underpinnings that interfere with our research. This is particularly important since language policy discussions often involve moral stances, as indicated by the term *linguistic human rights* advocated by some scholars (Skutnabb-Kangas,

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Phillipson, and Rannut 1994). In Switzerland, ‘linguistic morality’ in language-policy discourse concerns first and foremost the rights of a specific set of minorities, those minorities that are considered legitimate for historical reasons.

This contribution is a discussion of selected issues in Swiss language policy. First, I focus on the institutional status of the national languages. Next I discuss the demographic weight of languages in Switzerland and some sociolinguistic properties of Swiss multilingualism. These two complementary perspectives are chosen because they shed light on the tension that arises between languages spoken in Switzerland and the official languages of Switzerland. The discussion is deliberately selective, and I do not purport to give an objective account of the debates, but rather an appreciation that is also shaped by personal convictions about this highly symbolic field.

Most of the rationales in current debates rely on what can be called instrumental approaches to language management (Robichaud and de Schutter 2012). The term ‘instrumental approaches’ refers to language policy discourse that argues in favour of particular languages or varieties because they are seen as means to valued ends. These ends can be rather different in nature, either pertaining to issues of preserving cultural diversity or autonomy, e.g. of minorities, or to economic success and communication. Heller and Duchêne (2012) refer to a similar tension using the terms ‘pride’ and ‘profit’. Pride, or preservation of linguistic diversity, and profit, or language as an economic tool, are not mutually exclusive but often depend on each other (see also Berthele (2015b) for a discussion of this tension in Romansh language planning discourse).

2. LEGAL STATUS OF LANGUAGES

The Swiss constitution attributes the status of national languages to Romansh, Italian, French, and German (Art. 4). Italian, French and German are fully official on the federal level, whereas Romansh is “an official language of the confederation when communicating with persons who speak Romansh” (Art. 70). A priori, it is unclear what exactly these language labels refer to – a standardized form (such as Rumantsch Grischun, cf. Darms 1985; Coray 2008) or the set of dialects of Romansh, Italian or German spoken by the Swiss, or both? The 2007 federal law concerning national languages is more specific, and imposes the use of the standard forms of the national languages in the federal administration (Art. 5).

2.1 USEFULLY FUZZY CATEGORIES

The fuzziness of language categories, well-known to linguists, is useful and problematic at the same time: on the one hand, there is a general national pride in homegrown linguistic

diversity within ‘languages’. Considerable sums of money are spent on the documentation of dialects both on the Romance and on the Germanic side.² On the other hand, some consider the vitality of the Swiss German dialects a threat to national cohesion, and they even consider the use of Alemannic dialects by politicians in public illegal (Ribeaud 2010). The European Charter for the protection of regional and minority languages (Council of Europe 1992), which Switzerland ratified in 1997, explicitly excludes dialects from its protection. Current debates on adding the Franco-Provençal patois, still spoken as a first language in some parts of Western Switzerland (Elmiger *et al.* 2012; Kienzle 2011), to the list of minority languages, raise the question whether these varieties should be granted language status. In the canton of Valais, at least in the view of some prominent actors (Bernard Bornet,³ personal communication), the status planning efforts for the patois are explicitly tied to an equal protection of ‘Oberwalliseritsch’, the Alemannic variety spoken in the upper part of the valley.

The Romansh situation is at least as complex. Traditionally, philologists distinguish five different ‘idioms’ (≈varieties) of Romansh, all of which have a more or less standardized spelling and written tradition (Liver 1999). There have been several attempts at a common standard language, the latest being the introduction of Rumansch Grischun (RG) in the administration, media and, with rather variable success, in school (Coray 2008; Darms 1993; Berthele 2015b). Whereas the use of RG in the federal and cantonal administration is uncontroversial, the use of this common standard in school, in particular as the language of pedagogical material and in oral instruction, is extremely controversial and the last attempt to impose it failed in most areas (Berthele 2015b; Lindt-Bangerter and Berthele 2009). As we will see below, the demographic situation of Romansh is such that all speakers of Romansh today develop a high level of proficiency in Swiss and Standard German.

2.2 TERRITORIALITY AND THE LANGUAGE CURRICULUM IN SWISS PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Linguistic status planning in Switzerland is based on the principle of territoriality. This principle is constitutionally enshrined, for example in article 70 of the constitution, which stipulates that the cantons should respect the “traditional territorial distribution of languages”. The principle of territoriality, to put it bluntly, works well where status planning is unnecessary, i.e. in areas where there is only one dominant traditional language. In border zones, e.g. in the bilingual cantons of Fribourg or Valais, a strict application of territoriality erases the existence of traditional minorities who happen to live on the ‘wrong’ side of the

²Cf. the online resource of the Swiss Academy of Humanities on the national dictionaries:
<http://www.sagw.ch/sagw/die-akademie/unternehmen/nwb.html>

³ President of the „Fondation du patois“, cf. <http://www.patois.ch/>

language border. Accordingly, the Swiss supreme court has repeatedly confirmed the right of children to be schooled in the locally weak language in towns close to the border (e.g., Altermatt 2003; Angst and Rietiker 2015: 124). In another region, the principle of territoriality is used in a rather unorthodox manner: The language law in the trilingual canton of Graubünden imposes Romansh or Italian as the sole official languages in administration and school in places where at least 40% of the population uses the minority language (Art. 16 of the law from the year 2006).

A typical feature of Swiss status planning is the periodically surging debate on foreign languages in the obligatory school curriculum. Because Switzerland is a federal state, education and culture are in the competence of the cantons. Nevertheless, there are attempts at 'harmonizing' learning outcomes and some main cornerstones of the curricula in the country, licensed by a constitutional article (62.4) voted by the Swiss people in 2006. One aspect of this harmonization entails the introduction of two foreign languages in primary school, one of which should obligatorily be a national language.

This endeavor meets resistance for several reasons. First, some people believe that introducing two foreign languages in primary school overemphasizes languages at the expense of other subjects. Thus, they advocate introducing the second foreign language in secondary school only. A recent example here is the referendum launched in 2013 and declared void in 2015 in the trilingual canton of Graubünden. This referendum, similarly to referenda in other cantons, aimed to limit to one the number of foreign languages taught at primary level.⁴ Second, some people fear that two foreign languages is too heavy a burden for weak students, and would therefore like to reduce the minimal language requirements. Third, some oppose the system's flexibility and want to guarantee that the first foreign language taught is a national language – the rationale being that the national languages need to be protected against the dominance of English. Lively debates are currently going on, with popular votes in several cantons on these matters. This controversy replicates a debate that took place around the year 2000, when English was the first foreign language taught in a reform pilot in the canton of Zürich (Mittler 1998).

Further arena in which the status of the national languages is hotly debated are the federal administration and the Swiss army. Legal dispositions (above all the revised language

⁴ The German-speaking children of the canton would have been taught English, while the Romansh and Italian-speaking children would have been taught German as a foreign language. This initiative was declared null and void by the local parliament on the grounds of its incompatibility with constitutional provisions regarding the equality of educational opportunities and regarding the permeability within the Swiss educational system (moving from one territory into the other would entail completely different language curricula; see section 4 for further discussion).

Ordinance from 2014) impose a proportional representation of the national languages in the federal administration (68.5–70.5% German; 21.5–23.5% French; 6.5–8.5% Italian; and 0.5–1% Romansh): the aim is to mirror the demographic weight of the country's different linguistic communities in the Swiss federal administration. Given the differences in size of the communities, it is obvious that barring strong counter-action, the tendency towards the use of German as the working language, as the original language of documents, as well as a tendency to hire German speakers to facilitate communication is unavoidable. Language becomes a selection constraint, and many consider the current policy inefficient when it comes to counteracting the overrepresentation of the German-speaking majority - especially for the top positions in the federal administration.

The resemblance between the debate on the status of German in the Swiss administration and the status of English in the European administration is striking. Several researchers have investigated practices in the administration, from questions relating to mono- or multilingual editing of legal documents (Grüter 2014) to representational aspects and the recruitment mechanisms in several government agencies (Coray et al. 2014; Kübler 2013). The linguistic aspects of current developments in the Swiss army, including the fate of national minorities in increasingly mixed-language branches of service, have also been investigated (Kreis and Lüdi 2009; Berthele and Wittlin 2013; Wittlin 2011). Overall, these investigations show that the traditional methods of language management, most importantly the territorial logic of handing down autonomy to areas and institutional entities that are considered monolingual, are inadequate in times of increasing cooperation among the cantons (coming-together federalism). In other words, as soon as there is a tendency to give more power to the central administration, and to harmonize policies that used to be completely regionalized, a hands-off policy that does not protect the rights of the members of the minority language communities bears the risk of empowering further those who are already powerful (the demographically dominant speech community).

2.3 STATUS PLANNING IN SWITZERLAND: SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

It is impossible to give a full account of the public discourse on national languages and varieties here. One common denominator is that virtually all actors stress their favorable attitude towards multilingualism and respect of languages (and sometimes dialects; cf. Babylonia 3/2014 for an overview of the historical background of the Swiss discourse on the national languages). At the same time, this celebratory discourse of Swiss multilingualism is always selective (Berthele 2014) and disregards the presence of certain languages or dialects which are simply forgotten, considered irrelevant or illegitimate, while the languages or varieties that carry the focus of the particular interest groups are highlighted.

Several typical problems arise in the context of official status planning in Switzerland.

Erasure: Firstly, non-national languages (see section 3 for demographic weight of some of these languages) are often absent from the debates (see Irvine and Gal 2000, on erasure in language ideology research). The minority language policy of the country is strongly focused on national minorities and therefore overlooks the comparatively high proportion of more recently immigrated minorities (see section 3.2 below). Whereas the four national languages are explicitly attributed legal status in the federal legislation, the constitution also protects the “freedom to use any language” (Art. 18). At the same time, no mention of representation of languages other than the national languages is made, e.g. in the context of the representation of the population in the federal administration. When other languages are mentioned, they are often considered a threat to the ‘bond’ of national languages (i.e., English, Berthele 2001) or as an educational problem, in the case of migrants who do not master the school language (Grossenbacher & Vögeli-Mantovani, 2010; cf. also Esser, 2006 for the German context). There is educational planning for English with respect to foreign language instruction in school, but in other public domains there is no status planning for English in Switzerland. Given the importance of the language in many sectors of public and private life, this is considered potentially problematic by many (Achermann and Künzli 2009).

Proportionality and language use: Second, the idea of proportional representation of the communities in the administration can be challenged. Given the small size of the Romansh and the Italian communities, one could also argue that an overrepresentation is necessary to attain a minimal presence of the minority languages in the administration. Moreover, the mere presence of speakers of a particular minority in the administration does not guarantee that their native languages are actually used.

As argued in Grin (2008) and Berthele and Wittlin (2013), an interesting language regime in multilingual institutions could be receptive multilingualism: Instead of imposing either one common language or translation to and from all languages (the ‘panarchic’ model), polyglot dialogue (Posner 1991) is practised in some institutional contexts (e.g. the bilingual University of Fribourg’s committees and councils). This regime involves people using their respective native or high-proficiency languages in production while having receptive proficiency in two or three other national languages. Receptive multilingualism as a practice could ease the pressure on the school system since developing productive skills such as oral fluidity in several foreign languages requires massive pedagogical investment that the current system seems incapable of providing. Developing receptive skills in several varieties and languages, however, is much cheaper in terms of pedagogical investment and could allow

more respect for minorities (Pandolfi, Christopher, and Somenzi 2014; Müller et al. 2009, Gross *et al.* 2015).

School as a battleground: Third, given the reduced importance of traditional institutions emblematically representing national cohesion (e.g., compulsory army service for all Swiss males or a year as an au pair in the francophone part for German-speaking females), school is considered to be the institution that generates national cohesion by teaching national languages. Thus, the educational system that was traditionally regionally anchored and monolingually construed needs to be reinvented (at least according to some vocal participants in the public discourse; for an example see Beacco et al., 2010: 16). It is far from certain whether publicly-funded schools, within the current financial, temporal and personal constraints, can live up to these expectations. In conjunction with the currently rather successful nationalist and anti-European political tendency in Switzerland (in line with tendencies in other parts of Western Europe), language issues regarding compulsory education provide an ideal battleground for political struggles. The rapid changes in the ideological view of dialect in kindergarten and primary school illustrate these struggles: dialect, not long ago, was considered an obstacle to literacy and was banned from the curriculum, whereas, at least in some cantons, it is now compulsory for kindergarten, since it is a feature of national identity (Berthele 2010).

3. DEMOGRAPHIC WEIGHT OF LANGUAGES

In this section, the emphasis lies on the demographic weight of a selection of languages and varieties spoken in Switzerland. As discussed in section 2, in Switzerland, as in many other countries, the attribution of status to languages is based on the distinction between traditional and immigrated languages. The point in history that is required to become a traditional language is not spelled out clearly, and as Pavlenko (2011) has shown for the Baltic states, it can also depend on particular historical contingencies whether a resident minority and its language is considered legitimate or not.

3.1 MAIN LANGUAGES IN SWITZERLAND AND WORLDWIDE

In the case of Switzerland, the status of the traditional languages is controversial in two respects. First of all, the term ‘German’ is unclear: does it include Swiss German or not? Does the constitutional provision on German as a national language refer to the Swiss variant of Standard German, or to Swiss German dialects, or both? Is Swiss German actually the more traditional, more authentic ‘German’? Second, the status of Franco-Provençal, in my view, needs to be clarified: should it be protected by the Charter or not? Is it a dialect of French or a ‘real language’?

In a first step, I describe the main languages used in Switzerland by charting their demographic weight within the country and in the world (see Figure 1).

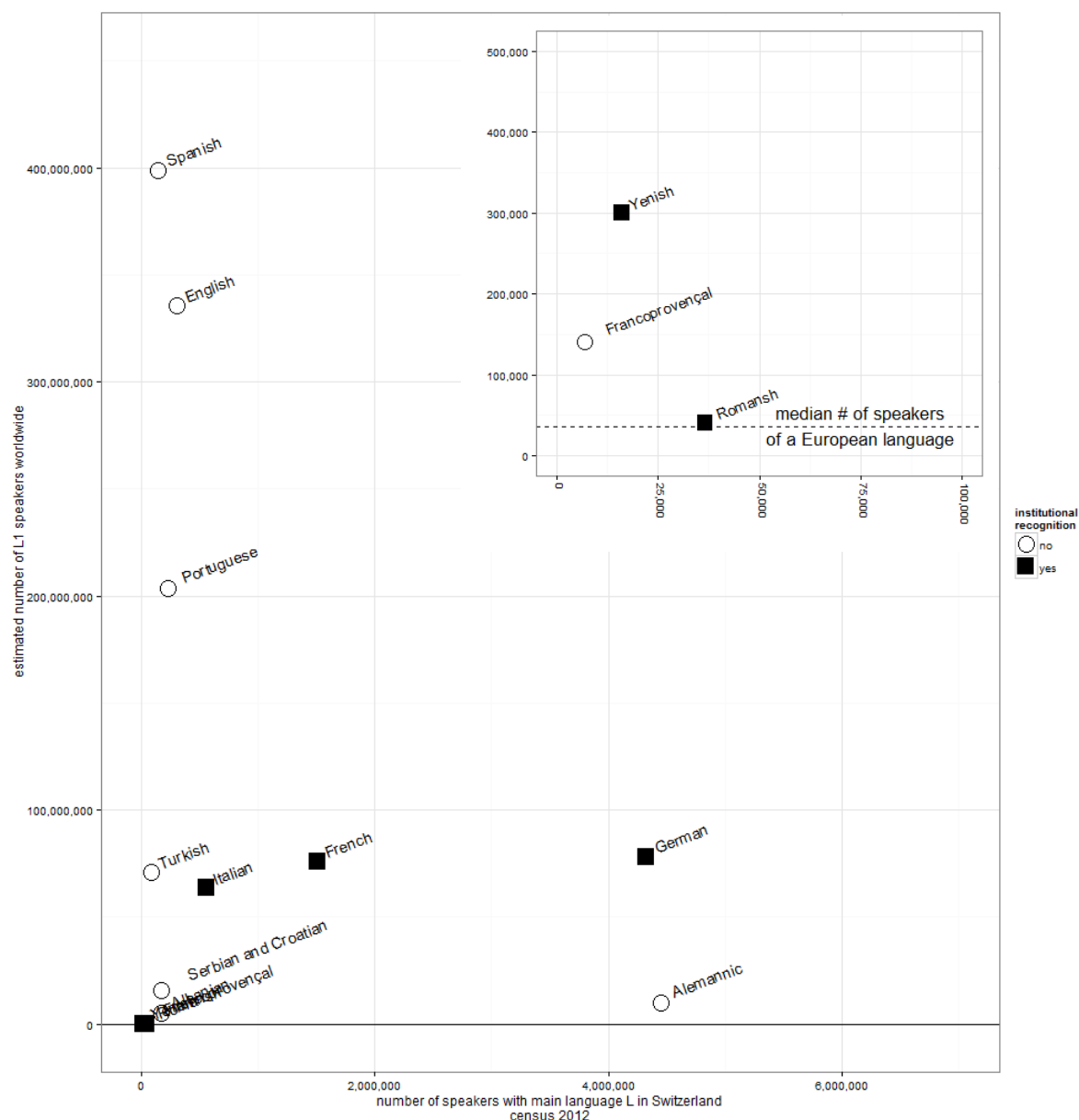


Figure 1: Estimated numbers of speakers of languages spoken in Switzerland. The x-axis shows speakers who named the language as their ‘main language’ in the 2012 census, the y-axis the estimates of native speakers of the same languages from <http://www.ethnologue.com/>. The square in the upper right part zooms in to the small languages in the lower left part of the main graph.

Figure 1 includes the institutionally recognized and the most frequently spoken languages in Switzerland, according to the 2012 census data available in the online archives of the Swiss federal statistical office.⁵ The figure depicts the estimated number of speakers worldwide on the y-axis, based on the estimates given in the database of the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005). Filled squares represent languages that benefit from official support on the federal level, either due to their constitutional status as national languages (German, French, Italian, Romansh) or due to their protection due to the European Charter and the European Council's Framework Convention (Yenish, cf. Hofmann et al. 2015). Empty circles represent languages or varieties that are not explicitly protected by such documents (immigrant languages, but also Swiss German and Franco-Provençal).

Several caveats must be offered: As shown by Brizić (2007), categories such as Turkish in survey or monitoring data are problematic, since a large proportion of emigrants from Turkey either deliberately or inadvertently miscategorize themselves as speakers of Turkish, even though their dominant or native language may be, e.g., a variety of Kurdish or one of many other minority languages spoken in Turkey. The estimates of numbers of speakers provided by the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) are often also problematic, since the whole enterprise of counting languages and speakers per language is far from being trivial (Mühlhäusler 1996). Furthermore, the term 'main language' in the Swiss census is again rather fuzzy, probably covering notions such as self-assessed dominance, chronology of learning (first language), and local ethnolinguistic vitality of a language in a given context. And finally the figure provides overlapping estimates of both German as a collective term and of Alemannic, the latter also being included in the count of speakers of German.

The figure can be interpreted with respect to several different reference points. One possibility is the comparison of demographic weight on the global (y-axis) and on the local (x-axis) scale. Before we distinguish big and small languages, it is worth pointing out that all languages included in the graph, down to Romansh, can be considered *typical* to *big* European languages if we choose the median size of European languages as a reference point (35,600 speakers according to Ethnologue, as opposed to 950 speakers per language in the Pacific; indicated by the dotted line in the detail plot in the upper right corner of Figure 1). There are locally very big languages such as German or its subcategory Alemannic. The locally dominant language German, on the global level, plays more or less in the same league as the locally much less important languages Turkish, Italian, or French – demographically

⁵ <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/>

speaking.⁶ There are languages that are globally and locally weak in terms of speakers but still have status (Yenish, Romansh). There are locally weak languages that are also globally comparatively small (Albanian, Serbian, and Croatian) and have no status, because they are not territorial languages of Switzerland. At least one language in fact would be traditionally Swiss, but it has only very few speakers – locally and globally – and no status (Franco-Provençal). Finally, the globally strongest languages (Spanish, English, and Portuguese) are locally demographically relatively weak (between about 150,000 and 300,000 speakers), although not as weak as Romansh (around 40,000 speakers), and they have no official status.

The numeric relations depicted in Figure 1 are an emblematic illustration of some of the challenges confronting Swiss linguistic status: as soon as the global level is taken into account, the demographic weight and therefore also the potential usage contexts (cf. the ‘Q-value’, de Swaan, 2004) of languages such as English, but also Spanish and Portuguese, is beyond any comparison not only with Romansh, but also outside the range of ‘big’ European languages such as French or Italian.

3.2 REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LINGUISTIC DEMOGRAPHY

There are detailed analyses of the demographic situation of the national languages in the different areas of the country (Lüdi and Werlen 2005). The federal statistical office provides detailed data and analyses on its online platform. These data shed light on the current state and on the development of the linguistic situation from a macro level.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 show the diachronic development of the main languages of the population for the major cities in the Italian-, German-, and French-speaking parts of Switzerland (Lugano, Zürich, Geneva) between 1970 and 2000, based on data from the database STAT-TAB made available by federal statistical office.⁷ In Figure 2, the y-axis represents the proportion of the total population that Italian speakers represent, in Figure 3, the y-axis represents the proportion of French speakers.

The two figures show the proportion of speakers of Italian and French as well as of other non-territorial languages on the y-axis. Figure 2 shows that the proportion of Italian speakers outside the Italian-speaking territory decreases (line moving downwards for Zürich and Geneva).

⁶ From the point of view of L2 learning and institutional status, French (an official language of the UN and other supranational organizations), has obviously a higher status than German, Turkish or Italian.

⁷ <https://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/>

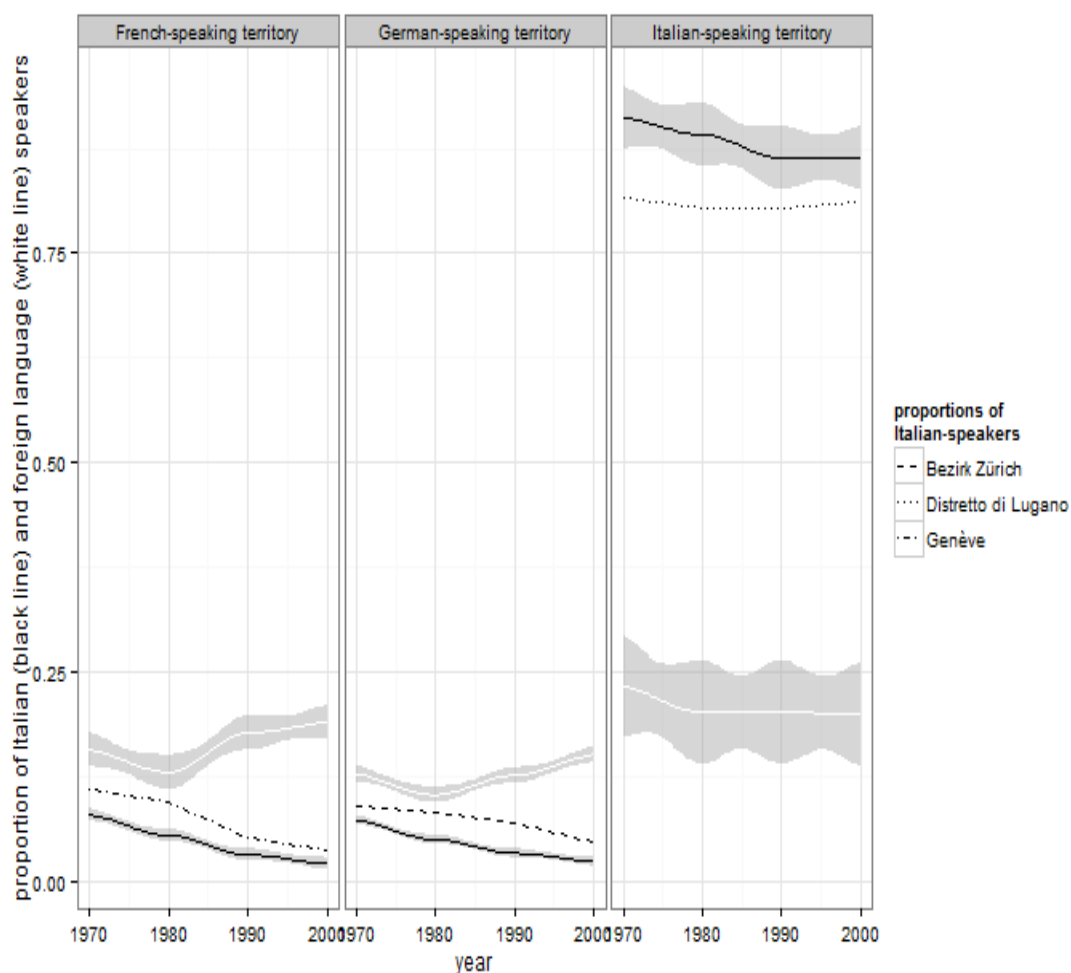


Figure 2: Proportions of population with the main language Italian (black smoother line with grey confidence interval) and with any non-territorial main language (white smoother line with grey confidence interval) in three linguistic regions and their main cities (straight and dotted lines; 1970-2000; census data).

Figure 3 shows that the proportion of French speakers in German- and Italian-speaking Switzerland is stable across time. Within their territories, languages either remain stable, or, as in the case of Geneva and the French-speaking districts overall, French is even strengthened across time (Figure 3). As Lüdi & Werlen (2005: 29) argue, there is no evidence for massive country-internal migration of German speakers into the Italian or French

territories. However, it is clear that the territory in which Romansh is the strong language is gradually shrinking, and actually has been shrinking for centuries now (see Liver 2000).⁸

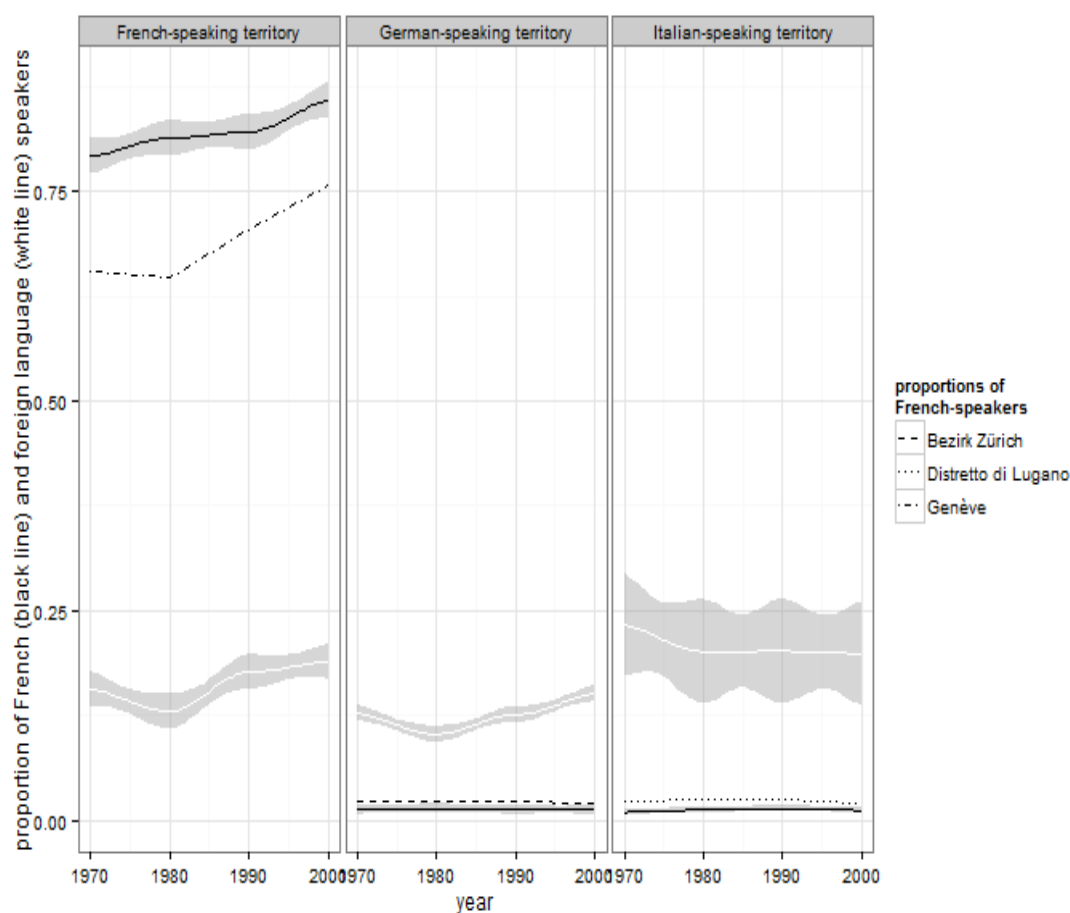


Figure 3: Proportions of population with the main language French (black smoother line with grey confidence interval) and with any non-territorial main language (white smoother line with grey confidence interval) in three linguistic regions and their main cities (straight and dotted lines; 1970-2000; census data).

On the other hand, the statistical data show that in the French- and German-speaking territories, the proportion of speakers of languages other than the territorial languages increases, whereas it decreases in Italian-speaking Switzerland. The increase in the presence of other, non-national main languages is as yet not really acknowledged by federal language planning. Obviously, there are recommendations, and there are school-level and regional

⁸ The analysis of the demographic changes within the traditionally Romansh territories requires a more fine-grained focus on towns and villages which would go beyond the scope of this article.

policies, e.g. with respect to heritage language classes (Giudici and Bühlmann 2014), and the state secretariat for migration (SEM) is active in educational language planning for migrants to develop skills in the national languages, i.e. in an assimilatory perspective. Otherwise no coherent federal language policy taking into account the languages of migration is currently implemented. Meanwhile, as studies on institutional contexts show (e.g. Berthele and Wittlin 2013, for the Swiss Army), English and other languages are used, together with the national languages, if understanding via national languages is difficult.

3.3 INDIVIDUAL MULTILINGUALISM

To state the obvious, nobody doubts that official multilingualism does not guarantee comprehensive collective individual bi-/multilingualism. Although macro-level policy can also be an end in itself (e.g. as a political symbol of respect for minorities), the question of the extent to which multilingual policies coincide with the development of individual multilingual repertoires deserves attention. In this section I therefore focus on some evidence on individual multilingual repertoires.

Werlen *et al.* (2009) present data from a representative survey on language proficiency of the adult population in German-, Italian- and French-speaking Switzerland. The results show that the highest proportion of multilingual individuals is found in the Italian-speaking territories, whereas the highest proportion of people who do not speak any language other than the territorial one is found in the Francophone area. There are also some other interesting differences that emerge from these analyses, e.g. that the highest proportion of speakers who only master English as a foreign language (and not any other national language) are the Francophones (see Werlen 2009, for a brief overview of the results of this survey).

Additional and more recent evidence for individual bi- or multilingualism can be gathered from census data. In Figures 4–6 I again use survey data that can be downloaded from the data base made publicly available by the Swiss federal statistical office, in this case from the 2013 census. The responses stem from the adult population (over 15 years old), and the participants in the survey could indicate more than one main language. This makes it possible to estimate the degree of self-assessed bi- and multilingualism in the Swiss population.

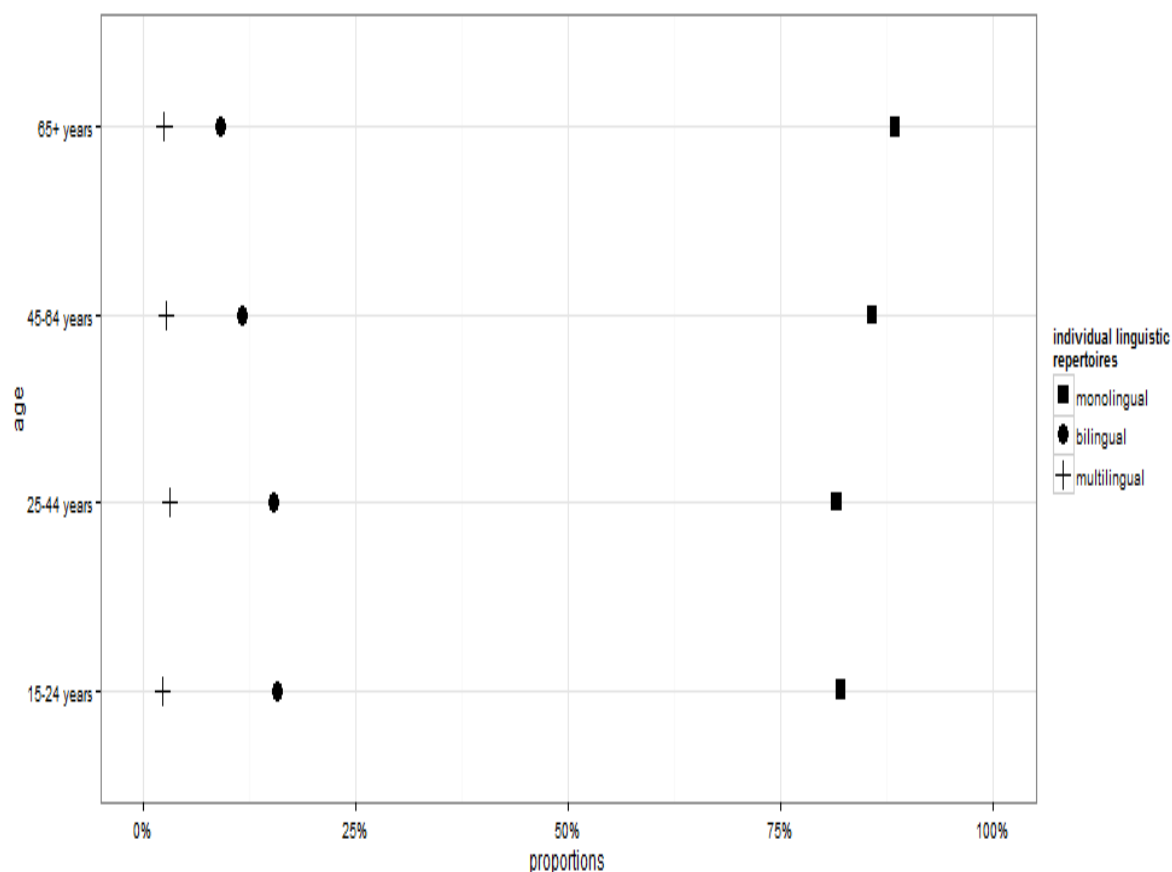


Figure 4: Self-assessed bi- and multilingualism in the adult (15+ years) Swiss population across age groups (2013 census data, cf. www.bfs.admin.ch)

As can be seen in Figure 4, the relative proportion of people indicating two or three main languages is higher in the younger population than in the older population. If these differences across age groups indeed are due to a sustained trend towards more individual multilingualism, then the complaint that the Swiss somehow retract into their territorial monolingualism (e.g. in Ribeaud, 2010) cannot be confirmed. The languages in people's repertoires may not be 'only' national languages, and the proficiency in the national languages may not be what it should – according to the expectations of policy makers – but the younger generations display language repertoires certainly not smaller than those of the older generations.

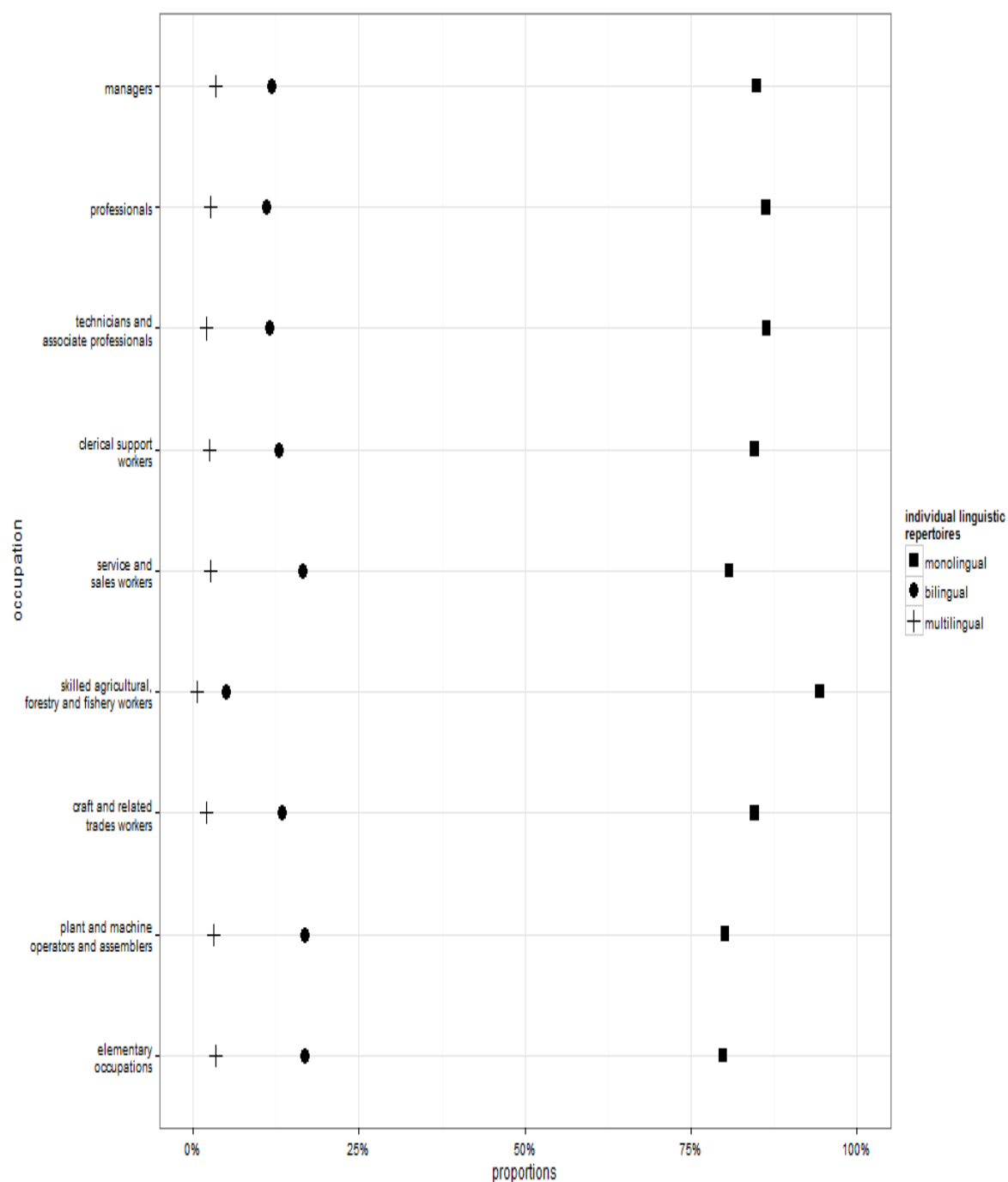


Figure 5: Proportion of mono-, bi- and multilinguals across occupational categories (2013 census data, cf. www.bfs.admin.ch)

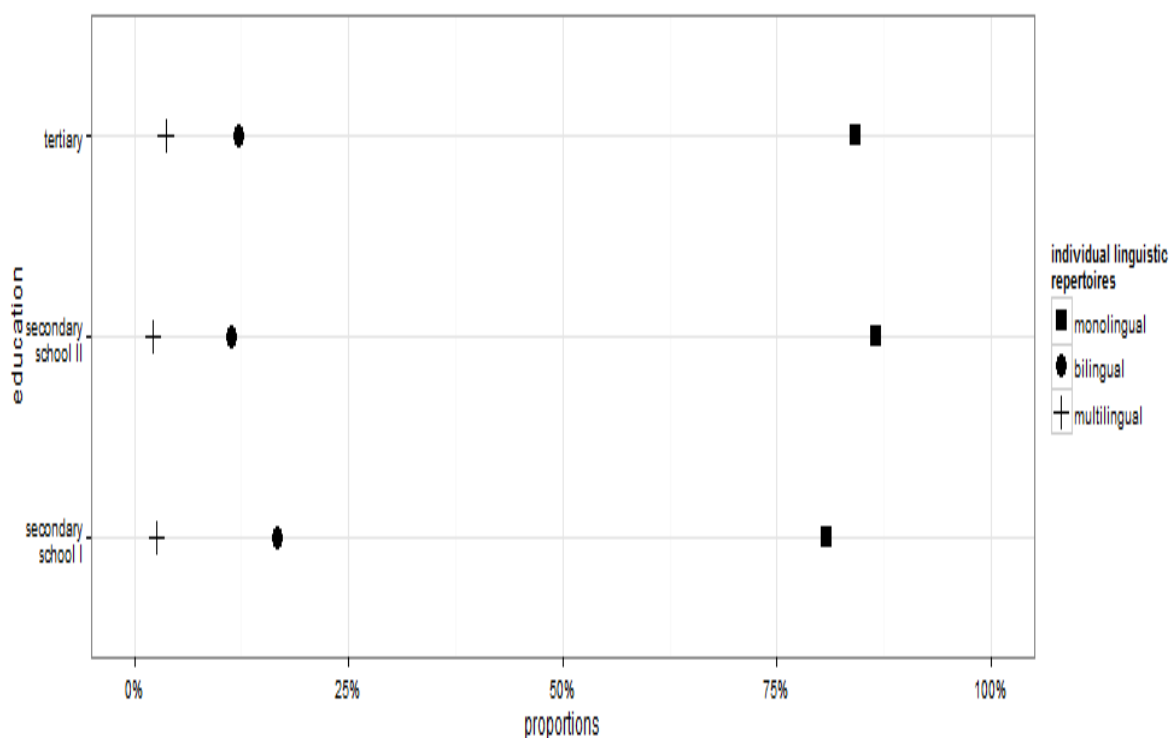


Figure 6: Proportion of mono, bi-, and multilinguals across educational categories (2013 census data, cf. www.bfs.admin.ch)

When assessing the degree of bi- or multilingualism of a whole population, it is important to distinguish social stratification of the phenomena under investigation. Again, the data depicted in Figure 5 and in Figure 6 only yield limited insights, since they do not allow focus on the individual languages that are part of these repertoires. Nevertheless, Figure 5 shows that there is a slight sectorial and socially stratified tendency towards more bi- and multilingualism in the top segment of the occupational scale (managers), and then again in the domain of sales and other occupations at the lower end of the scale. Corresponding to the stereotype, the agricultural domain correlates with the highest proportion of monolingualism. And, again unsurprisingly, unskilled occupations coincide with relatively high proportions of multilingualism. Figure 6 corroborates this U-shaped relationship in the proportions of bi- and multilingualism: values are lowest in the group holding intermediate degrees (secondary education on level II), while both lower and higher degrees come with more bilingualism (and, in the case of the tertiary degrees, also multilingualism).

Thus, when making claims about individual linguistic repertoires and educational and occupational success, it seems important to keep in mind that there are at least two forms of

bi- and multilingualism. To put it simply, multilingualism within the lower strata of the population typically involves proficiency in languages such as Portuguese, Serbian or Croatian, or Italian, in addition to the local language. As for the elite, the languages typically used are the national languages as well as English (see Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 47). The social connotations of these two types of bi- and multilingualism are different (see, e.g., Berthele, 2012 or Imdorf, 2008 for investigations of the effects of ethnicity and bilingualism on the assessment of language proficiency).

4. CONCLUSIONS – ON THE SELECTIVE CELEBRATION OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

The main goal of this selective overview of Swiss language issues was to confront the traditional, relatively well-established principles, such as territoriality, with the tensions that emerge due to various changes in modern Swiss society. A main characteristic of Swiss (or probably any) public language discourse is the biased focus on particular languages and types of bi- or multilingualism. The celebratory perspective on Swiss quadrilingualism erases not only internal heterogeneity (dialects, patois, etc.), but also the presence of a large number of other, less legitimate languages in the country. This leads to a skewed view of bi- and multilingualism that is prototypically associated with proficiency in legitimate languages. As the census data show, bi- and multilingualism is relatively frequent in socially low strata. However, the celebratory view of multilingualism generally does not take into account that for an important part of the Swiss population, being multilingual can also be regarded as a feature of being underclass, and migration status and lower classes are notoriously confounded in many Western countries. An official policy that generally ‘values’ multilingualism, but merely focuses on national languages, is unlikely to change the self-perception of these multilinguals.⁹ The rather selective attribution of status to languages leads to characteristic tensions between linguistic vitality and language status, two of which I would like to mention in these final considerations:

First languages that are not territorial languages: If the first language and its development really have the importance for educational success that is claimed in official documents (see e.g. EDK 2004: 2), then there needs to be an obligatory slot in the curriculum that is dedicated to the first languages of all children, both Swiss speaking non-territorial languages and the immigrant communities (as is practised in some schools in Basel, cf. Luginbühl 2003). Such compulsory and integrated first language instruction needs to be funded and quality monitored by the Swiss school authorities instead of depending largely on

⁹ The European language portfolio contains elements that are intended to counteract such biases towards particular (legitimate) languages. However, the implementation of portfolio-related activities in Swiss schools are met with merely modest enthusiasm, as surveys have shown (Wokusch 2010, 21).

the embassies of the countries of emigration, as is currently the case. If, however, this importance of the first languages is not as decisive as the official documents state, then it might be better to refrain from mentioning them in language policy documents, in order to avoid paying lip-service only. The current practice offers rather variable access to L1 instruction based on local availability, and there is limited pedagogical control since the classes are funded and organized from a third party. There is a risk that the current half-baked system creates even more inequalities within the educational system.

English: Some scholars regard the lack of status of English as a problem (see section 2.3). The superior status of English as an international language is overtly acknowledged by Swiss language rights specialists (see the quote by Previtali 2013, below). Thus, granting English the status of a working language in administration and education could be an option that would adapt the law to practices currently in place anyway.¹⁰ A hands-off policy regarding the status of English may not cause any serious problems in the near future. However, since it is rather unlikely that the use of English will decrease, such a policy leads to a widening gap between official language status and actual practices. The traditional territorial policy of imposing the use and mastery of the local language for granting residency and citizenship is loosened anyway as soon as the expected tax revenues are sufficiently high, as a recent case in the canton of Zug shows (cf. an article in *TagesAnzeiger*, 16.4.2014).

Competition between languages is normal and typical for a multilingual state. The rather dramatic differences in size of languages and varieties displayed in Figure 1 mirror the amount of effort that is required to improve the status of languages such as Italian, let alone Romansh: Their communicative value is decreasing in the face of the increasing presence of speakers of global languages such as Spanish, Portuguese or English. The standard response of most vocal advocates of Swiss bi- and multilingualism to this competition is twofold. First, there is an appeal to identity related values: French, Romansh and Italian are 'Swiss' languages, whereas others are not (e.g. Ribeaud 2010). Second, there is a habitual reference to 'explosion theories' of multilingualism, i.e. with theories claiming that learning a third or fourth language is easier and faster than learning a second language (e.g. Hufeisen and Neuner 2004). Thus, according to this view, the debate must not be English *or* French in the curriculum in German-speaking Switzerland, but English *and* French. But then Italian has not even entered the picture, let alone Romansh and Spanish. The time that can be allocated to language learning in compulsory school is limited and not all students are language fanatics;

¹⁰ Unless, of course, the political consensus is to ban English from these domains, in which case even more action from lawmakers would be required, cf. the example of French language policy (Bogaards 2007; Berthele 2015a).

nor are all of their teachers. Competition between languages is thus unavoidable, and there is also no doubt that languages, in the view of language users, are regarded as being profoundly unequal (despite the sustained efforts of imposing an egalitarian view on languages, see e.g. Krumm 2003, 39). The example discussed briefly in section 2.2, the referendum declared void by the Graubünden parliament in April 2015, was considered unconstitutional, among other things, because *not* teaching English as a foreign language to Romansh- and Italian-speaking children means depriving these two minority groups of an important resource:

Nel caso dell'adozione dell'iniziativa popolare qui esaminata ci si troverebbe quindi nella curiosa situazione che agli allievi appartenenti alla maggioranza linguistica tedescofona che possiedono quindi già la principale lingua nazionale del paese, sarà anche garantita la possibilità d'apprendere precocemente la lingua internazionale più importante, l'inglese. (Previtali 2013, 19)¹¹

This clearly shows that, indeed, the languages in the curriculum are considered as being *unequal* due to differences in national or international status, as we have already illustrated by the sheer differences in numbers of speakers in Figure 1. Along the same lines, Italian as a foreign language as an optional subject in public school in Switzerland, as a second example, is currently not under pressure from French or English (they come first anyway), but from the internationally important language Spanish. To counteract these tendencies via status planning is far from easy. As I have argued in section 2.3 lowering the expectations and focusing on comprehension skills first might be a way to reduce the learning load in the language domain while actually going some way towards increasing the potential usage contexts of minority languages.

This chapter uses some current debates on language management in Switzerland to illustrate the tension that emerges between a national language policy that attributes language rights to speakers of 'traditional' languages, and demographic challenges due to immigration and country-internal migration. Country-internal migration creates a problem mostly for the status of Romansh, due to the emigration of the Romansh speakers from their traditional territories while German speakers immigrate into this territory. In all linguistic regions, immigration of speakers of non-national languages raises the question of the language rights of these speakers. The principle of territoriality is the legal instrument that can be used as a management tool for the protection of traditional languages. However, the legal dispositions

¹¹ In the case of the acceptance of the popular initiative under investigation here we would be in an odd situation in which the pupils who belong to the German-speaking majority, who therefore are already proficient in the main national language, would be granted the opportunity of an early learning onset of the most important international language, English. (translation RB)

and language management measures presented and discussed in section 2 are not well-adapted to the challenges presented by the demographic changes presented in section 3, neither is the celebratory discourse on multilingualism very helpful for the educational challenges that need to be met. Moreover, high-level language labels such as 'German' or 'Romansh' erase within-category variation that equally gives rise to serious challenges for a consistent diversity-oriented language policy.

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ENGLISH IN THE WORKPLACE IN SWITZERLAND BETWEEN IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES

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- Interviewer: Okay. Could you tell to us something about the meaning of the languages in the company? As well as you see this now? From your point of view.
- MM: Well, this is relatively easy, with us it is English only. (...) so who doesn't speak English, has no future here. Nowhere. (...) and, I'm now speaking about the Headquarter (...) so here it's English (...) there is a dominance of English almost up to arrogance (MM <Agro A>, translated from German)

Abstract

A widely shared opinion states that English in its international form is particularly suited for the economy. Consequently, a shift from national languages to English as corporate language has been observed in many countries. However, this choice is not based on the results of scientific research, but rather on ideologies. In many cases, the real practices can differ quite significantly from what people think and/or tell they do. This calls for empirical research. In this paper, we will analyse the demolinguistic situation of Switzerland with a special focus on English at work, have a look at the public debate about English and national languages at school and acknowledge the actual linguistic practices in several types of economic environments, in order to answer the question whether English and/or any other language dominates communication at work in Switzerland.

Key-words Workplace, English, mixed teams, plurilingualism, language management, communication strategies, language ideologies, plurilingual speech, vocational training

1. THE 'DOXA' ABOUT ENGLISH AS GLOBAL LANGUAGE OF BUSINESS

This quotation from an interview with a HR manager at a global agro-business company based in Switzerland seems to confirm the widely shared opinion that English in its international form is particularly suited for the economy. Consequently, a shift from national languages to English as corporate language has been observed in many countries as for example in the case of Airbus, Daimler-Chrysler, Fast Retailing, Nokia, Renault, Samsung, SAP, Technicolor, and Aventis “in an attempt to facilitate communication and performance across geographically diverse functions and business endeavors” (Neeley 2012).

This choice results from the international weight of the English language. In a widely quoted paper, Weber (1997) developed a formula that used six criteria to judge the worldwide significance of each language, i. e. number of primary speakers, number of secondary speakers, number and population of countries using the language, number of major areas of human activity in which the language is important, economic power of countries using the language, and socio-literary prestige of the language. In his ranking, English was by far the most influential before French, Spanish and Russian.¹

Concerning the move toward “English only” as corporate language of the economy, three primary reasons are often invoked:

Competitive pressure.

(...) Companies that fail to devise a language strategy are essentially limiting their growth opportunities to the markets where their language is spoken, clearly putting themselves at a disadvantage to competitors that have adopted English-only policies.

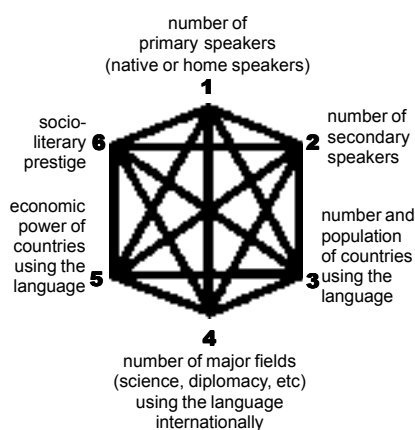
Globalization of tasks and resources.

Language differences can cause a bottleneck (...) Better language comprehension gives employees more firsthand information, which is vital to good decision making. Swiss food giant Nestlé saw great efficiency improvements in purchasing and hiring thanks to its enforcement of English as a company standard.

M[erger]&A[cquisition] integration across national boundaries.

Negotiations regarding a merger or acquisition are complicated enough when everybody speaks the same language. (...) that's why when Germany's Hoechst and France's Rhône-Poulenc merged in 1998 to create Aventis, the fifth largest worldwide pharmaceutical company, the new firm chose English as its operating language over French or German to avoid playing favorites.

(Global Business Speaks English, Tsedal, Harvard Business Review, May 2012)



Factors which make a language influential (Weber 1995/2003)

The initial quotation manifests the doxa prevailing with <Agro A> and grounded on exactly this type of arguments.

There is, however, a back of the coin that is much less bright. The same manager emphasised, in an other section of the interview, the importance of linguistic diversity as a source of richness, and denounces the information loss, a certain malaise not being able to speak one's own language, and a lower level of participation caused by an English only policy.

MM: Mehrsprachigkeit heisst ja nicht nur, es gibt unterschiedliche Sprachen, aber heisst ja, Mehrsprachigkeit bringt ja andere Bilder, bringt andere Vergleiche, bringt auch andere Kultur, bringt ja ALLES. Aber bei uns, das Problem ist, es es ist nachher alles, es muss alles ins Englische übersetzt werden. Und damit verschwindet natürlich ein Grossteil dieses dieses Reichtums.

(...)

ich war jetzt in Brasilien bei einem Training und dort gab es Referenten, die konnten kein Englisch. Und dann wurde das übersetzt. Und da habe ich gemerkt, dass bei der Beteiligung ein, +nein nein+, wir haben eine ganz andere Beteiligung erreicht, (.) denn die Brasilianer und Latinos, die konnten überall Fragen stellen und konnten mitreden und konnten in ihrer Sprache (...) Ich habe die Erfahrung selber auch gemacht, ich habe einen Führungskurs besucht, in Freiburg, der auf Deutsch lief. Das ist anders. Ich rede in meiner Sprache anders, freier, offener, selbstbewusster, sicherer. (<Agro A>)

This feeling is confirmed by the results of scientific research. Fine (1996) states that communication in a *lingua franca* learnt as a foreign language may be accompanied by a lack of emotional involvement, and argues:

Assimilation into the dominant organizational culture is a strategy that has had serious negative consequences for individuals in organizations and the organizations themselves. (...) Those who assimilate are denied the ability to express their genuine selves in the workplace; they are forced to repress significant parts of their lives within a social context that frames a large part of their daily encounters with other people. (Fine 1996: 494)

On the other hand, the heterogeneity of members of scientific teams can be conceived as a chance. Indeed in mixed teams or research groups, the clash of different perspectives, modes of interpretation or prediction (Page 2007), and different forms of language use in “conceptual spaces” (Boden 1996), more precisely in “in-between spaces” (Bhabha 1994) between cultures result in cognitive creativity (cf. Mitchell/Nicholas 2006, 72). The innovation concerns among others the way in which actors organise their meetings, structure their collaborative practices, set up rules, negotiate or even impose general attitudes concerning the use of languages — and finally the knowledge that is constructed itself (Berthoud et al. 2012, eds. 2013).

However, actors and decision makers do not, normally, chose their actual behaviour on the ground of the results of scientific research, but rather based on ideologies, i. e. shared

public beliefs. In many cases, the real practices can differ quite significantly from what people think and/or tell they do.

This calls for empirical research along different lines. In the following sections, we will first analyse the demolinguistic situation of Switzerland with a special focus on English at work. We will then have a look at the public debate about English and national languages at school. Finally, we will acknowledge the actual linguistic practices in several types of economic environments, from SME to multinational companies, in order to find answers to the question whether English and/or other languages — or maybe no single language at all — dominates communication at work in Switzerland.

2. THE DEMOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF SWITZERLAND

Human societies have always been multilingual. However, growing mobility of important parts of the world's population has led to a massive increase in multilingualism in post-modern societies and a lasting change from homoglossic to polyglossic communities with important “deterritorialised” linguistic minorities, mostly multilingual to a variable degree. Throughout many centuries – and fostered by the processes of nation-building and language standardisation – the prevalent image of linguistic diversity was that of a patchwork of rather homogeneous language communities which are in contact at their peripheries, through trade relations and exogamous marriages, but remain fundamentally monolingual. In modern times, particularly in urban contexts, such communities interpenetrate each other in new, original ways.

Switzerland represents a particularly interesting case in this respect. Since the constitutional process in the first half of the 19th century, the country is institutionally multilingual with German, French and Italian as national languages. Shortly before World War II, Romansh was added to this list. Since the 50ies, the steady increase in the number of migrants, expats, refugees, etc. has added different layers of non-national languages to this basis. From 1950 to 2013, their percentage as main languages rose steadily:

Ständige Wohnbevölkerung ab 15 Jahren nach Hauptsprache(n), 1970-2013

in %

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2013 ¹
Total	4'575'416	4'950'821	5'495'018	5'868'572	6'744'794
Deutsch / Schweizerdeutsch	65.3	65.7	64.6	64.2	64.5
Französisch	18.7	18.6	19.3	20	22.6
Italienisch	11.1	9.3	8	6.8	8.3
Rätoromanisch	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5
Andere Sprache	4.0	5.5	7.6	8.5	21.5

1) Das Vertrauensintervall ist in jedem Fall weniger als +/- 0,2%.

Quelle: 1970-2000: VZ; 2013: SE

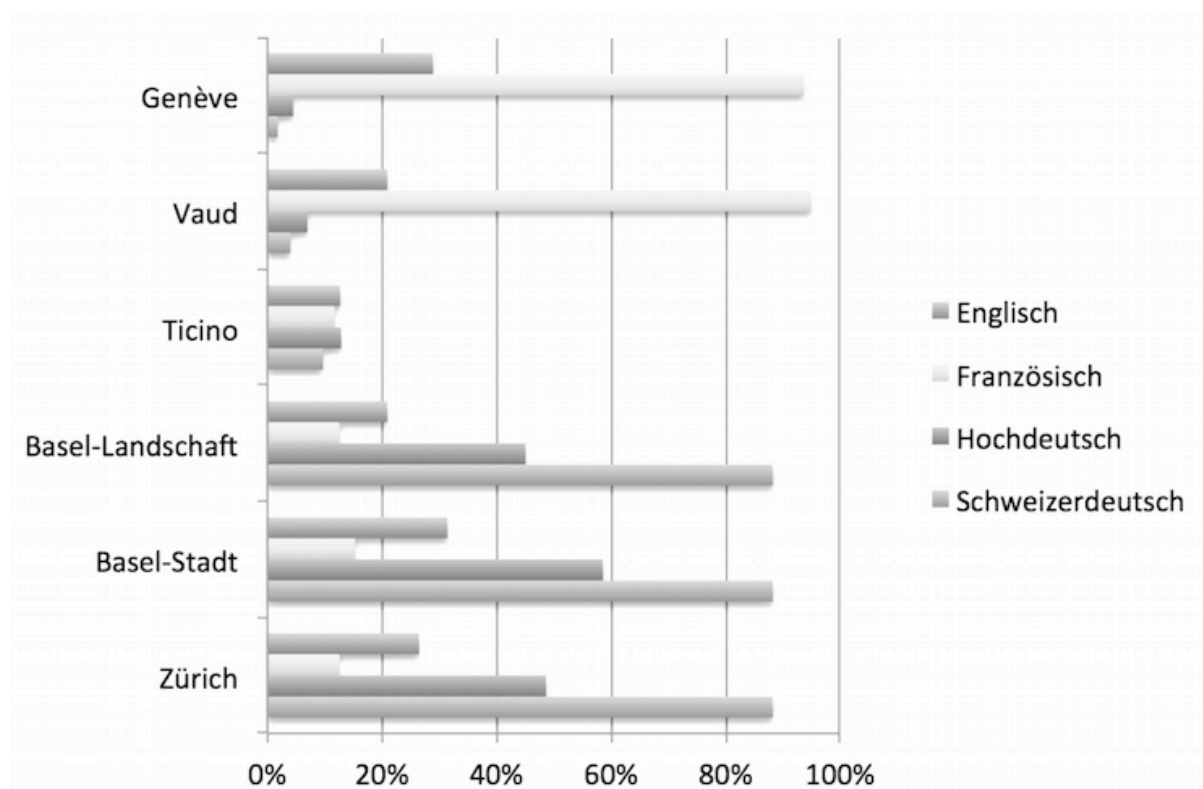
Die Daten von 1970-2000 wurden mit der Strukturerhebung ab 2010 harmonisiert. Die Verteilung der Landessprachen ist in den letzten vier Jahrzehnten relativ stabil geblieben. Im Gegensatz dazu hat der Anteil Personen, die eine Fremdsprache als Hauptsprache angeben, stark zugenommen. Die Daten von 1970-2000 und 2013 sind nur beschränkt vergleichbar, weil seit 2013 mehrere Hauptsprachen angegeben werden können, während bis 2000 nur eine Hauptsprache möglich war.

Table 1: main languages of the Swiss population 1970-2013

(<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/themen/01/05/blank/key/sprachen.html>)

For constitutional reasons, the distribution of the languages varies from one language region to the other, the respective official language reaching between 68% (Rhaeto-Romansh) and 88%.

English is not very frequent as main language (less than 5%). Nonetheless, for some people it is heading towards the status of “5th national language” (see Watts *et al.* 2001 and section 3) due to its presence in the linguistic landscape and as a language spoken at work. According to the figures published online by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office in 2012, one of five jobholders in the canton Basel-Landschaft, one of four in the Canton of Zürich and almost every third in the canton Basel-Stadt ticked the box “English at work”. English is mostly spoken in addition to other languages (Swiss German is spoken by four of five, Standard German by one of two jobholders). The figures are similar in the French (Geneva comparable to Zürich, Vaud comparable to Basel-Landschaft) and clearly lower in the Italian part of the country (less than one and a half of ten in Ticino).



Graph 2: Language use in different Cantons of Switzerland

There are however tremendous differences between different job categories. In Basel-Stadt, for example, the proportion goes from less than one of ten (Craft and related trades workers, Plant and machine operators and assemblers, Elementary occupations) to over four of ten (Professionals) and even one of two (Managers). These differences are reflected in provisions concerning the language requirements (based on the levels of the CEFR) for vocational training as exemplified by a table produced by the Pedagogical University of Central Switzerland that distinguishes between first and second foreign language:

Métier	langue étrangère exigée (LE) 1	langue étrangère exigée (LE) 2	niveau attendu LE 1	niveau attendu LE 2	Particularités LE pendant l'apprentissage
Employé de bureau					LE encore comme branche optionnelle, bientôt exigée
Employé des postes	Fr		A1		
Télématicien	An		A1		Anglais technique; lecture et conversation importantes
Commerce de détail	Fr ou It		A1+		
Contrôleur de train	2 d'entre Fr / An/ It		A1+	A1+	
Libraire	Fr ou It	An	A1+	A2	
Vendeur	Fr ou It		A1+ pour Fr		pas d'exigences pour l'It
Assistant d'hôtellerie / de gastronomie	1 entre Fr/It/An		A2		priorité à la conversation
Employé de commerce	Fr ou It	An ou It	A2	A2	Suisse centrale 1; hautes exigences pour le Fr; certificats intern. prévus
Médiamaticien	Fr ou It	An	A2	A2	niveau supérieur pour lecture An
Préparateur chimiste, droguiste, assistant dental	Fr ou It		A2+		exigences élevées compréhension orale et lecture d'instructions et de manuels
Electronicien	An		A2+		1ère année: cours indiv. d'An, dès 2e année: An technique, lecture et conversation techniques prioritaires; enseignement en partie en An
Informaticien	An		A2+		exigences élevées lecture, enseignement en partie en An
Agent en information documentaire CFC	Fr		A2+		
Laborantin,	An		A2+		
Assistante médicale	It (év. Fr)		A2+		
Electronicien multimédia	An		A2+		1ère année: cours indiv. d'An, dès 2e année: An technique, lecture et conversation techniques prioritaires; enseignement en partie en An
Maturité professionnelle commerciale	Fr	An	A2+	A2+ - B1	stages linguistiques obl., certificats intern., exigences élevées
Maturité professionnelle	Fr	An	A2-B1	A2-B1	exigences élevées

Table 2: Language requirements in vocational training (Hodel/Leu 2010)

As can be seen in this list, for many professions the knowledge of more than one foreign language is requested, French (or even Italian) preceding even sometimes English. This corresponds to the need of the labour market as documented in several quantitative studies

(Lüdi *et al.* 2005, Andres *et al.* 2005). They showed that the labour market is remarkably multilingual, and that the higher the percentage of English is (by canton and by socioprofessional categories) the more other languages are used.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE

Consequently, in March 2004, the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK) adopted a convention recommending that two foreign languages be taught in primary school – English and one national tongue. Similarly, a Swiss Federal Act on the National Languages, voted in 2001, went into effect in 2010; it aims at preserving the multilingual culture of Switzerland and stipulates that school children are to be taught at least one other Swiss national language (German in the French and Italian parts of the country, mostly French in the German one) as well as one other world language (see <http://www.admin.ch/ch/d/ff/2006/8977.pdf>.) In the Romandie, a huge effort to modernise the teaching of German is observable (NZZ, 16.2.1015, page 38). In contrast, there are important moves in German speaking cantons to delay the teaching of French at school. On Sunday 8 March 2015, voters in Nidwalden rejected — by a majority of more than 61% — an initiative sponsored by the right-wing UDC party that would have resulted in French being dropped from the canton's primary school curriculum. The debate is far from being closed because similar initiatives have been launched by groups of teachers and politicians in a number of other German speaking cantons. Their main overt argument is that children are overburdened, are losing interest in language learning, and that other important subjects are neglected. But in reality, the initiative to stop the teaching of two “foreign” languages at primary schools has a hidden agenda; it is clearly directed against French because nobody questions the priority of English and the necessity to teach it as early as possible.

As some bloggers put it in their comments to an interview in the news portal *20 Minuten* on March 29th, 2014:

Französisch unnötig

Meine Erfahrungen in 25 Jahren Berufsleben haben gezeigt: französisch habe ich NOCH NIE gebraucht, ohne englisch wäre es SEHR VIEL schwieriger, wenn nicht gar unmöglich, gewesen. Zum Glück habe ich mich nach der Lehre für einen Sprachaufenthalt in den USA entschieden! Und auf allen Reisen konnte ich mich bisher problemlos auf englisch verständigen.

Englisch ist nun mal wichtiger

(...) Eine Sprache zu lernen ist aufwendig, wenn man sich auf Englisch beschränkt, so kann ich diese Sprache besser lernen. Es ist eine Tatsache, dass man sich mit English auch mit Romands oder Franzosen unterhalten kann! Natürlich ist es super, wenn ich viele Sprachen kann, wenn jemand einfach Sprachen lernt, so sollte er es tun, aber nicht zwangsweise in der Schule alles überladen und den meisten das Sprachenlernen auch noch im Kindesalter vermiesen.

Englisch hat heute Priorität.

Das "Problem" liegt doch ganz woanders: Englisch wird immer wichtiger, Englisch ist auch in der Schweiz immer verbreiteter und entsprechend sehen immer mehr Leute keinen Grund darin, Französisch zu lernen. Was man nicht lernen WILL, KANN man nicht lernen; viele Leute WOLLEN Französisch nicht mehr lernen, also muss sich das Schulsystem anpassen und Französisch durch Englisch ersetzen. (...)

Adds promoting English courses for children exploit the common belief that knowing English assures the children a bright future:



Graph 3: Language courses for children

Many commentators simplify the language question along two axes:

(a) bilingualism (one second language as “language of communication” in combination with the respective local language as “language of identification” [House 2003]) is enough; it is better to speak one additional language well (be it reality or only a myth) than several languages approximately. Today this 2nd language is English, but it could also be Chinese as thematised in the following cartoon by Jaermann and Schaad published in the *Tages-Anzeiger* some time ago:



Graph 4: Cartoon early language learning

(b) languages are transparent; if everybody spoke English, intercomprehension would be perfect and misunderstandings due to linguistic and cultural diversity could be avoided (see also Wright 2011).

In a way, this debate reproduces a struggle originating in a period of emerging nationalism and “national languages”: The best way to solve communication problems in a period of Babylonian confusion is to come back to one unique language of communication, without any negative side effects.² The main arguments in favour of the one-language-only solution are the worry of effectiveness, but also the equality of the chances to participate in a global speech community whatever the language and the culture of the concerned persons may be (cf. Kekulé, 2010). In contrast to the creation of the nation states, the English-only phenomenon is global and affects all the countries and language regions in the same way.

If only languages were transparent... Detailed analysis of interactions in English as *lingua franca* in the framework of European research project *Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity* (DYLAN)³ revealed that the resources used are sometimes treated as only partially shared, as opaque to a certain degree, and as needing some repair, and that many other communication strategies can be observed in business contexts. In other terms, actual communication practices often challenge the ideological prejudices.

It is uncommon indeed that all members of a mixed group share the same plurilingual repertoire and understand all others' preferred languages. Nonetheless, the choice of a *lingua franca* — mostly English — might be a suboptimal procedure in business communication and can entail severe drawbacks:

- Speaking the same language levels differences and might create the illusion of shared values and representations. Different languages carry a different epistemic potential (Fetscher 2013) the perception of which could be part of the resources for mixed team members' boundary spanning ability in multinational corporations, cultural and language

² The increased formation of national languages in the 19th and 20th centuries (*political unity in linguistic unity*) as fully functional and symbol-laden languages was also an attempt to overcome collective as well as individual multilingualism. The advantages of monolingualism (e.g. maximum intelligibility, participation in a political debate on the national level, promise of mobility, efficiency of one written norm, range of communication) seemed obvious, and it still took quite some time until it was desirable or possible to question them seriously. (Moliner *et al.* 2013, 412).

³ This was an integrated project from the European Union's Sixth Framework Program, Priority 7, “Citizens and governance in a knowledge-based society”. 19 partners from 12 countries addressed the core issue of whether, and, if so how, a European, knowledge-based society designed to ensure economic competitiveness and social cohesion can be created despite the fact that, following enlargement, the European Union is linguistically more diverse than ever before. (cf. <http://www.dylan-project.org> for an overview and Berthoud/Lüdi/Grin 2013 for detailed results).

skills influencing the extent to which boundary spanners perform most demanding functions (Barner-Rasmussen *et al.* 2014).

- The perception of one's lack of competence in the *lingua franca* is reflected in more insecurity.
- Communication in a *lingua franca* learnt as a foreign language may be accompanied by a lack of emotional involvement (Fine 1996, 494).
- Speaking a FL may lead to less precise formulation and thus to a loss of information.

Ich rede in meiner Sprache anders, freier, offener, selbstbewusster, sicherer. (...) Da gehen also wirklich viele Ideen eigentlich verloren, wenn man sich einfach für das Englische entscheidet in einer solchen Situation, weil dann nicht alle gleich, sich gleich wohl fühlen. (Maurice M., Agro A)

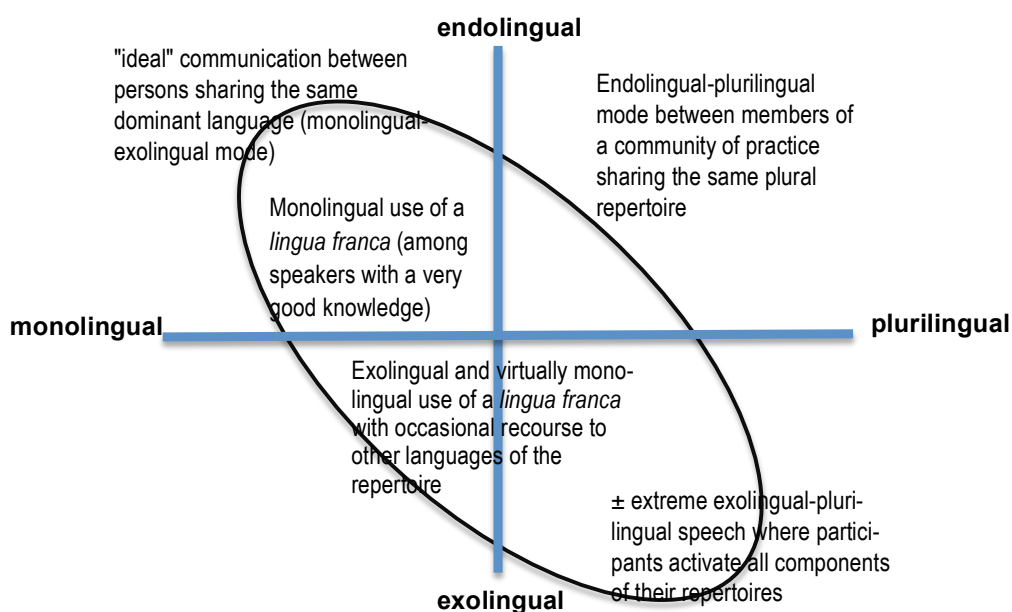
The harms and losses caused by “monolingual solutions” have already been mentioned in section 1.

4. PRACTICES

An important part of the Dylan-project consisted in a fine-grained examination of numerous interactions in business contexts in order to understand how the very diverse linguistic repertoires of speakers operating in increasingly multilingual environments develop and how actors make the best use of their repertoires and adapt them skilfully to different objectives and conditions. Careful observation of actors’ multilingual practices revealed finely tuned communicational strategies drawing on a wide range of different languages, including national languages, minority languages and *lingue franche*. The aim was to understand which communicative strategies are used in settings where several languages are used that are not all spoken equally well by all the individuals concerned. Understanding these practices, both their meaning and their implications, helps to show in what way and under what conditions they are not merely just a response to a problem, but an asset in business, political, educational, scientific and economic contexts.

One of the results of this research was the disproof of the common assumption that everyone speaks English. Participants adopt a wide range of strategies, and they do so in an extremely variable and dynamic way, constantly reassessing the solutions chosen. These strategies can be positioned on two axes. One axis contrasts “monolingual” strategies (“one language only” [olon] and “one language at a time” [olat]) with “multilingual” ones (“all the languages at the same time” [alast], sometimes called “all language at all time” [alat]), and the other one links the “exolingual” pole (greatly asymmetrical repertoires) with the

“endolingual” one (participants share the same repertoire). The following graph illustrates the diversity of solutions chosen, the solution inside the oval pointing to different forms of use of *lingue franche*:



Graph 5: Overview of language practices

Not only is the choice of a *lingua franca* such as English or French just one of many solutions; in addition, its form depends heavily on the speakers' levels of competence, ranging from a monolingual-endolingual mode (among speakers with a mastery of the *lingua franca* at a very high level) to a monolingual-exolingual one (where a barely mastered language is chosen for communication) or a multilingual-exolingual mode (where the speakers occasionally draw on other linguistic resources) and extreme forms where the *lingua franca* is a kind of hybrid, “rough-and-ready” version of the language. Other solutions comprise the *lingua receptiva* mode (sometimes known as “Swiss” or “Scandinavian” model [Lüdi/Höchle/Yanaprasart 2010]) in which everybody is expected to speak his/her own language and to understand the ones of the other speakers, and, of course, different forms of interpretation.

An extreme plurilingual mode can by the way also be observed in written discourse as exemplified by an ad of Swiss Airlines (NZZ am Sonntag, 1.3.2015). The slogan “our sign is a promise”) and the syntax of the headline (“volare to vingt-deux new destinations in ganz Europe”) are English (= matrix language); the inserted lexical units belong to English and three of four national languages.

The choice of language(s) at work in a mono-/multilingual mode largely depends on the participants' profiles and competence, as well as on the — negotiated — framework of participation (see Lüdi *et al.* 2012). In settings where participants are aware that their competence is asymmetrical, solutions that enable the multilingual situation to be managed are developed in the course of the activity. Such solutions are not pre-existing models that are simply adopted as they stand, but invented *in situ* by the multilingual participants, and negotiated throughout their interaction, thus exploiting their cognitive and strategic flexibility mentioned above. These rough-and-ready solutions allow maximum flexibility and adaptability to the context. Our observations confirm the findings by Mondada (Mondada/Nussbaum 2012, Mondada 2012) that actors use all these strategies in a very systematically patterned way, based on underlying socially constructed knowledge. Note that these patterns are quite different from classic bilingual interactions in traditionally bilingual communities such as Puerto Ricans in New York, or Alsatians, even if the translinguistic markers⁴ might belong to similar categories.

Two cases of plurilingual interactions in very different business contexts can exemplify the diversity of strategies used.

The first interaction (examples 1 - 3) was recorded in 1999 by Isabel Kamber in a publishing-house in Montreux (French speaking part of Switzerland), and transcribed and published by Wetzel-Kranz (2001). DC, a German speaking programmer presents a new computer programme specially designed for the management of scientific articles to be published in a review. Florence's and Yolande's (the two collaborators') preferred language is French; the L1 of Rainer, the head of the unit, is German; his French is not very good and he prefers English.

Several observations are to be made:

(a) the dominating mode is plurilingual; all the participants have at least a passive knowledge in all the others' languages.

⁴ *Translinguistic markers* are phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexical elements in utterances in a given variety (La) perceived as belonging to another variety (Lb), regardless of their origin and nature.

(b) the language choice is frequently renegotiated, sequences of exploratory language choice alternating with sequences where French, German and English are the *lingue franche* and at the same time the matrix language in which elements of all the other languages are embedded (Myers Scotton 1997).

In a first sequence (example 1), the matrix language is French. In line 8, Florence makes a participant related code-switching to German to make DC feel more comfortable; he sticks to French, but, corresponding to the level of his competence, in a clearly exolingual mode, with many insecurities and mistakes (e.g. **comprener* [l. 12 & 14], *on besoin un peu* [l. 13], *qu'est-ce que maintenant actuel* [l. 18], *tous les personnes* [l. 16], etc.) and the Swiss German discourse marker *aso* (lines 17 and 20). In this sequence, English appears only when they refer to the computer screen as in the case of the book title *book of Europe* (line 19) is the title of a book that appears on:

Example 1

- 1 DC: c'est okay'
 2 Florence: mhm
 3 DC: ouais'
 4 Yolande: jusqu'à nouvel ordre
 5 Florence: ((laughs))
 6 DC: quoi'
 7 Yolande: après application ça ira mieux . en gros je comprends
 8 Florence: ((laughs)) nach Arbeit wird es besser
 9 DC: mhmh . .
 10 Florence: ((laughs))
 11 DC: ouais . c'est . comme je dis' . c'est . difficile pour ex/
 12 exni/ . pour expliquer comme ça parce que ah pour comprendre la
 13 structure comment ça marche c'est . c'est . on besoin un peu . on doit
 14 réfléchir ça pour comprendre comme ça marche avec tous les structures
 15 ici . comment je dois définir ça . c'est un peu complexe . mais après.
 16 quand on a une personne qui définit toujours ça avec Rainer tous les
 17 personnes peuvent travailler travailler avec ça . **aso** par exemple je
 18 pense on va maintenant travailler sur ça qu'est ce que maintenant
 19 actuel pour vous . **book of Europe** je pense c'est Rainer avec Elena ils
 20 ont fait ça . on a ici . X des articles . **aso** je pense c'est des
 21 articles qu'ils ont jusqu'ici
 22 Florence: mhmh . ouais
 23 DC: ouais'
 24 Florence: ouais

At the beginning of the second sequence (example 2), the constellation of the participants changes with DC's German request to Rainer to join the group. The language choice is at first exploratory with rapid switches from French to German (l. 2) to English (l. 4) until, after a pause of three seconds, Rainer chooses German, a choice to which all agree (from l. 15 onwards) even if DC shortly falls back into French (l. 22). This time, it is Florence and

Yolande who get into troubles (*le troisième* [l. 18], *von die Leuten* [l. 19], *die Adressen ist immer uns* [l. 26], German as *lingua franca* showing a kind of mirror effect of what we observed in example 1.

Example 2

1 DC: attends attends . peut-être je . je . Rainer' könntest du mal
 2 kommen' .weil jetzt gehts um die Ressourcen
 3 Rainer: ja
 4 DC: maintenant il est en train de faire ça ((Rainer arrives)) you have
 5 made the ressources here'
 6 Rainer: yeah
 7 DC: yes . now we have here the images from editor
 8 Rainer: mhmh
 9 DC: now it will be received from Taylor . the first . **aso**
 10 Yolande: sent to Taylor
 11 DC: sent to Taylor or received'
 12 Rainer: received
 13 Florence: no . sent .. the images
 14 ((3 sec.))
 15 Rainer: kommen von Taylor . gehen an die Grammatek
 16 Yolande: ah ah ah
 17 Florence: ja . aber zuerst
 18 Yolande: (**le troisième**)
 19 Florence: zuerst wir bekommen die Fotos von eh die Leuten
 20 Rainer: nein . das wo der Taylor verantwortlich is kriegt er sie . das ist mir
 21 so gesagt worden .
 22 DC: **et ça maintenant**
 23 Florence: ja weil . **aso**
 24 Rainer: und es macht ja auch Sinn . weil der Taylor muß sie ja erst mal sehen
 25 ob es gut is
 26 Florence: klar . aber . zum Beispiel die Adressen ist immer uns . und dann . wir
 27 schicken . weil zum zum Beispiel . ich hab das Problem gehabt . weil .
 28 wir haben ein Fotos bekommen äh äh und jetzt müssen wir das zu Taylor
 29 schicken . wir haben das by per mail geschickt und dann . wir schicken
 30 weiter zum .
 31 Rainer: gut . wenn es . wenn die Sachen für Taylor sind .. läßt de[=du] das
 32 Foto . das wird nicht registriert . dann gehts automatisch
 33 weitergeschickt an den Taylor und wird dann erst erfaßt wenns dann
 34 wirklich is . weil wir wissen nich ob der Taylor das Foto überhaupt
 35 akzeptt
 36 Florence: ach so
 37 Rainer: weil sonst hast du ja das Problem . du ak/ du nimmst das Foto in deine
 38 Liste auf . versuchst es zu verfolgen . und er macht (quk quk quk)
 39 Florence: mh
 40 Rainer: mh'

A couple of minutes later, the common language (matrix language, *lingua franca*) has changed again, this time from German to English. But the characteristics remain the same as in the two preceding examples: the quality of the *lingua franca* is variable (e.g. lines 9-10 *when it arrive in French then you have to send it to get it translate in English*) and there are

embedded elements of other languages (e.g. l. 27 *ça c'est quoi ça?*, l. 33-33 *les P M E, ah eh, ça c'est partie A, ça c'est le S M I*, l. 37 *c'est ça maintenant*).

Example 3

1 DC: what'
 2 Yolande: sometimes we receive everything in French . so we give the title we
 3 receive in French and then we . you know
 4 Rainer: we are making an English book with English titles English articles
 5 Yolande: yes . but
 6 Rainer: I don't care . I have an English book I have English articles . I
 7 don't want any translation inside this ressource planning . because (I
 8 can take my mind)
 9 Yolande: but it's a process which we have to go through . when it arrive in
 10 French then you have to send it to get it translate in English to get
 11 it translate in English and then it has to go back to the writer to
 12 check and then come back (we still have this on) because the people
 13 are supposed to write in the language they want
 14 Rainer: ähm .. that's correct . for the part A it's a different way- for part
 15 B and part C it's correct . (and there are some ressources I created
 16 äh when its a different language other then english to the translation
 17 office then it comes back . this is äh .. BUT . for here . to have an
 18 overview . what's . of what's going
 19 Yolande: of what is going on . yes
 20 Rainer: you have to decide one language and this is an English book . so we
 21 have an English language . that's it ... and I do . I don't want to
 22 change my my point of view
 23 Yolande: oh it's okay for me
 24 DC: ok- but- now these texts here- are this the final aso finished
 25 articles text' or'
 26 Florence: ehm
 27 Yolande: **ça c'est quoi ça'**
 28 Florence: yeah, because eh
 29 DC: E Q P
 30 Rainer: it's an English text
 31 Florence: it has a French title
 32 Yolande: what is it' . **les P M E .ah eh . ça c'est partie A**
 33 DC: **ça c'est le S M I .**
 34 Yolande: **partie A**
 35 DC: **oui .** is this the final text' or'
 36 Florence: ehm .. it's supposed to .. because eh
 37 DC: **c'est ça maintenant** . you know you have different ressources from text
 38 A and now we have here check in text A . checking layout . corrected .
 39 final prooved . the final text . now . here we don't see what we have-
 40 which text we have-
 41 Florence: mhmh
 42 DC: that's- that's the point-

The preceding considerations draw upon a functional conception of multilingualism (CECR 2001). A set of skills in different languages, from near native to very partial, is seen as an integrated whole which is more than the sum total of its parts. Such a “multicompetence” (Cook 2008) or plurilingual “repertoire” (Gumperz 1982; Gal 1986; Lüdi 2006; Moore & Castellotti eds. 2008; Lüdi & Py 2009, etc.) was defined as a set of

“resources” – both verbal (registers, dialects and languages) and non-verbal (e.g. mime and gestural expression) – that are shared and jointly mobilised by the actors in order to find local solutions to practical problems (Mondada 2001; Pekarek Doehler 2005).

Where one language only seems appropriate or possible, participants try to remain with this choice as much as possible. This is the case for French in example 1, German in example 2 and English in example 3. Nonetheless, — referring to English —, the Vienna specialists in *lingua franca* speak of a "multilingual mode":

When language users are in an ELF mode, the range of resources and possibilities available to them is not limited to English however. Even though English is apparent on the surface, all of the speakers' linguistic resources are concurrently available for use. They are not automatically switched

As a matter of fact, the ways of using a *lingua franca* depend heavily on the speakers' levels of competence, ranging from a monolingual-endolingual mode (among speakers with a mastery of the *lingua franca* at a very high level) to a monolingual-exolingual one (where a barely mastered language is chosen for communication) or a multilingual-exolingual mode. The results of all Dylan teams having worked on this topic point into the same direction. A *lingua franca* — be it French, German or English — is not a variety, but “actually constituted by very heterogeneous and multilingual varieties” (Markaki et al. 2013, 26), a kind of open variational space. This is of course also true for English: “Like any lingua franca, ELF emerges in multilingual settings. It is not only realised within, but also through linguistic diversity.” (Hülmbauer/Seidlhofer 2013, 388). The more exolingual the setting is and the broader the interlocutors' repertoire, the more the speakers will draw occasionally on other linguistic resources. Talk in *lingua franca* is “interwoven with speakers' overall linguistic repertoires” (Hülmbauer/Seidlhofer 2013, 387). Thus, English as *lingua franca* appears “to be a multilingual mode” and the linguistic means used correspond to the “kind of hybrid, “rough-and-ready” version of the language” mentioned above (Lüdi et al. 2013). In other words, the use of a *lingua franca* does not differ categorically from plurilanguaging, but constitutes a borderline case of the latter.

Our second case study comes from a very different context. Recorded by Lucas A. Barth (2008) at a counter of the railway station of Basel, it presents a transactional interaction between an officer and a client. As the client answers in English to the Swiss German greeting *guete Tag* (LINE 2), the officer switches to English too and the whole transaction will be carried out in a monolingual-exolingual mode:

Example 4

1 Employé guete Tag
2 Client good morning I want (going) to the Milano.
3 Employé to Milano ?
4 Client yes.=
5 Employé =on which day ? (..) what day are you travelling?=
6 Client =today.
7 Employé today. and what time roughly? (1) at what time? (2) what time are
8 you leaving?
9 Client eh nine.
10 Employé nine o'clock (.) now? (..) so you need a ticket for the nine o
11 four.
12 Client nine o four.
13 Employé how many travellers? (2) one person [two three&
14 Client [eh a person]
15 Employé &four five? ((dénombrer en utilisant ses doigts))
16 Client one one. one. one person.
17 Employé in second or in first class? (2) in second class or in first
18 class?
19 Client eh (2) first class.
20 Employé first class. (13) so that's for now (.) in eh: fifteen minutes
21 >the train leaves nine o four Basel to Milano Centrale< and you
22 arrive fourteen thirty five in first class. coach is three one
23 one one. You're booked on seat seventy one. the price is one
24 hundert and sixty four francs please.
25 Client okey and: I eh: eh I want going to Kopenhagen and police eh
26 german eh turn to Italy
27 Employé I beg your pardon. What XXX?
28 Client police german turn to Italy eeh ticket from Milano eh eh if
29 return to Milano
30 Employé (3) this has been used. (Rail service) in Italy. I can't refund
31 the ticket here. you must speak to Italian eh: Italian ticketing-
32 (back). I would like to have hund- one hundert and sixty four
33 francs please. that's the price for this ticket.
34 Client one hundert?
35 Employé one hundert sixty four [francs eh swiss francs]
36 Client [euro? euro?]
37 Employé do you have swiss francs? (1) so do you need to change money?
38 Client how (many) euro?
39 Employé hundert and five euro

The sequence consists of two parts. Firstly, the aim of the client is to buy a first class ticket to Milan (lines 1-25). Despite of some linguistic problems, solved by frequent reformulations by the officer (lines 7-8) and non verbal means (lines 13-16), this goal is achieved. In a side sequence, he then tries to get his original ticket Milan-Copenhagen reimbursed, a journey he could not complete because of administrative problems with the Germans (*police german turn to Italy*, lines 26-27 and 29-30). This part of the interaction is hardly comprehensible, but the officer is able to make a guess because the client provides the original ticket. However, he relegates him to the Italian railway company and returns to the first aim, the payment of the ticket. In this monolingual-exolingual interaction, no other means than English, gestures and material objects are used. Nevertheless, this transaction

illustrates well the rough-and-ready character of the *lingua franca* that is used. In the client's turns, there is no elaborated syntax (*I want going to Kopenhagen and police eh german eh turn to Italy*), no verbal morphology (past time), no articles, minimal use of prepositions, etc. He sticks to a pre-grammatical mode of communication (Givón 1984, ²2001; 1998) that is heavily knowledge based and where word order is mainly characterised by the information status of discourse elements. Speaking about the use of English as *lingua franca*, we must acknowledge that it includes such minimal forms of English that are very far away from “Queen's English”.

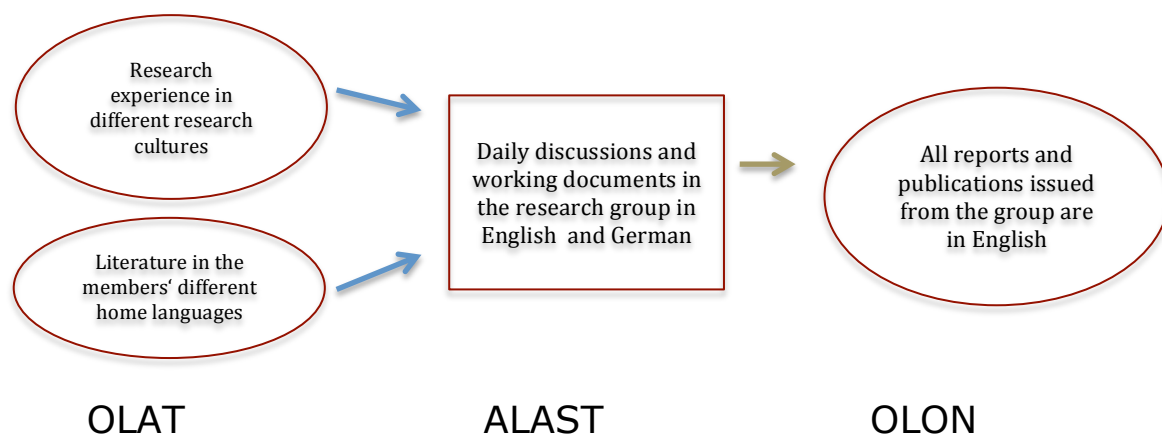
5. CONCLUSIONS

English is very important, indeed, as business language in Switzerland, in particular — but not only — for external communication. But this does not mean that it replaces the national languages. In fact, multilingual solutions prevail where participants draw on their entire repertoire. This is even true for the written mode. In their 2013 contribution about English as *lingua franca* to the Dylan book, Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer restrict the range of their findings to spoken language because it is “less constrained by the standardising forces associated with writing” (Hülmbauer/Seidlhofer 2013, 392). However, the written language might be affected as well. Concerning reporting about the experimental work in his unit, the head of a research laboratory with <Pharma A>, confesses

Tous les rapports doivent être en anglais. Tout document officiel, le study plan, doit être en anglais. Le travail expérimental, ça peut être en allemand ou anglais. Il y a ce que nous appelons raw data, les données brutes, c'est en allemand. Les working documents, les documents avec lesquels elles [sc les laborantines] travaillent, sont en allemand, et ça, c'est un peu toléré parce qu'on est en Suisse. C'est un mélange. Parfois c'est intéressant, mais je ne me rends pas compte quand je parle et parfois il y a un mélange linguistique.

This can be seen as an asset instead of as a problem. The members of the lab bring with them a wide experience in different research cultures (Swiss, French, English); in their daily work, they use a language mix¹ that allows for precision and creativity in their respective comfort zones. However, the official reporting is in English (see Lüdi ed. 2010 and Lüdi *et al.* 2013).

¹ In order to know how real life communication at the workplace matches these declarations, we not only audio-recorded different team meetings, we also convinced some persons to record all their verbal inter-actions during two working days with a clip-on microphone. Jamal H., head of the Lab B, was one of the participants in this study. The recordings firstly confirm the hypothesis that English is the most frequently used language by him and indeed with him (68%). All the meetings with members of his lab with one exception, including many encounters with other people, most phone calls, the greetings in the corridors and the small talk in the cafeteria, were all in English. However French obviously competed with English in his daily practice from small talk to negotiations with IT



Graph 6: Flowchart representing the process of writing an English report

In other words, the team is linguistically mixed, team members are plurilingual to a different degree, bring along readings and research experiences in different scientific cultures in their "educational suitcase" — and are facing the task to produce texts in English as corporate language only. We start from the premise that the asset that should be exploited for major innovation is reflected by the content of the members' respective suitcases.

In our flow chart we suggest that English might be in fact the language of reporting, but that all of the speakers' linguistic resources might have been concurrently used during the process of elaboration of knowledge. In other words, even scientific discourse produced in academic English (i. e. eventually corrected by native readers) "may only be superficially monolingual, in the sense that beneath the outward expression of this discourse, the many mental stages of its elaboration have taken place in another, or possibly many other languages"; thus, discourse in one given language "draws on a stratification embodying other linguistic inputs." The internal discussions correspond to the ALAST mode.

One of the conclusions of DYLAN claims that this is an asset:

specialists up to a long scientific discussion about an experience protocol (23% of the overall speaking time). The underlying rule is: if an interlocutor is francophone, speak French and if his or her preferred language is another than French then use English. Jamal H. makes one exception to his second rule – when addressing a lab assistant of Hungarian origin, he systematically chooses German (9%). In addition, Jamal H.'s microphone records a great number of Swiss German conversations in his immediate entourage indicating that he is frequently exposed to this language.

This superposition of layers probably has particular relevance for scientific and academic discourse, because the elaboration of analytical thought embodied in written or oral productions can proceed differently depending on the linguistic resources exploited in the process. (Berthoud et al. 2013, 451).

The (re)discovery of the layers beneath the surface may then be compared to an exercise in “thick description” – a notion proposed by Usunier (2010) in the continuity of Geertz's (1973) approach to the interpretation of cultures. “Thick standardisation” – focuses on the complex dynamics between diversity and standardisation, the presence of the “different” within the homogeneous, and the diversity which exists within uniqueness. From the outset, the use of a standardised form, reflecting the desire to reach a certain threshold of mutual comprehensibility in the broadest sense, must be understood in full awareness of the potentially deceptive character of standardisation that may sometimes lead to a failure to understand even when you think you do. In other words, the use of a single language (whether English or any other) can create a false impression of shared meaning, when in fact actual meanings may differ and reflect deeper linguistic layers. Here again, one implication is that communication will be more reliable if allowance is made for these complex, intrinsically multilingual processes.

It is time to conclude. It results from our investigations that

- English is increasingly important in the Swiss business world, but rather in addition than instead of other languages;
- as a general rule, English is one of the components of an integrated plurilingual repertoire;
- in most cases, the practice of English as *lingua franca* corresponds to an exolingual mode that bears more or less traces of the users' other languages;
- more generally, plurilingual solutions to the firms' and their employees' communicative challenges are not only frequent and normal, but represent a real asset rather than an emergency solution.

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THE SWISS PARADIGM OF MULTILINGUALISM AND ENGLISH

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Abstract

The paper addresses quadrilingual Switzerland as a unique sociolinguistic context with reference to the presence and the role of English. The aim is to outline a framework referred to as *The Swiss Paradigm* that builds on relevant theory blended with the results of a quantitative research. The theoretical reflection comprises the assumptions of contact linguistics and macro-sociolinguistics, whereas the empirical knowledge comes from the CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) survey carried out in the canton of Zurich in 2011. A particular interest focuses on the changes that occur in language practices and communicative patterns embedded in the Swiss multilingual setting. The paper intends to provide a macro-sociolinguistic account of multilingual contact where one of the languages develops *lingua franca* features. Thus, English as a global language in the multilingual context of Switzerland may be expected to yield a peculiar scenario displaying the characteristics of the Swiss context. This model does not claim validity for all multilingual settings, but rather urges that other cases be compared with this one in the light of the paradigm's predictions. The proposed Swiss paradigmatic framework indicates – viewed through a macro-sociolinguistic lens – that the present linguistic situation in Switzerland seems to reflect a growing symbiotic relationship between English and the Swiss vernaculars.

Key-words: Global language, language practices, lingua franca, linguistic paradigm, multilingualism, Switzerland

1. INTRODUCTION INTO THE SWISS LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE¹

Quadrilingual Switzerland seems to be moving towards a country of 'two-and-a-half languages'. The smallest national language, Romansh, is apparently heading towards an unstoppable decline, and the Swiss will be less fluent in a second national language because the knowledge of the other three 'Swiss' national languages loses out to the advantages of English. Italian is not threatened so much in its cultural identity in spite of the growing significance of German in Ticino. The French-speaking Swiss enjoy the cultural identity, but are mostly embittered by their inability to communicate nationwide because of the spread of the Swiss German dialects in the German-speaking part of the country. The German-speaking Swiss use standard German practically only in writing and rarely in speech. The strong

¹ Based upon research results published in Stepkowska (2013: 259-280).

isolationist aspirations of the German-speaking part of Switzerland in relation to other German-speaking countries only add to the complexity of Swiss multilingualism. Although the cultural and linguistic diversity is protected and accepted as a common occurrence in Switzerland (cf. e.g. Camartin 2000, Schläpfer 2000, Schmid 2001, Widmer 2007), it may be doubted that the quality of the within-the-country communication between different cultural areas is equally satisfactory for all. The Swiss of different mother tongues are becoming exhausted by the attempts to communicate by means of a second or even a third national language, since the individual repertoires of four languages have become a rarity. Nevertheless, despite the cultural, religious and linguistic differences, Switzerland is distinguished by a high degree of cohesion owing mainly to its political institutions. As a 'nation of the will,' Switzerland enjoys a remarkable social integrity. The word 'multilingual' – which defines the Swiss identity – equates to a group ranging from a few dozen thousands to a group amounting to a few millions. English and the phenomena related to its spread and its popularity are becoming a touchstone for this multilingual vitality. In other words, Switzerland needs to prepare for a multilingual future, but with English playing a recognized role in displaying the characteristics of the Swiss context. The Swiss paradigmatic framework to be proposed here aims to indicate the changes that occur in language practices and communicative patterns of multilingual contact where one of the languages develops *lingua franca* features. English as a global language in the multilingual context of Switzerland has apparently entered into a symbiotic relationship with the Swiss vernaculars. Therefore, it may be predicted that both the intra- and international uses of English will show a rising tendency in Switzerland.

2. ENGLISH IN SWITZERLAND

The paradigmatic model proposed in this article is based on the Swiss context whose specific features need to be incorporated in the account of its most important aspects. Thus, apart from the theoretical outline of the multilingual design, there remain a few issues about Switzerland and English to be commented upon.

Swiss society has been classified by Haugen (1972: 166) as a *tertiary speech community* in which communication presents a complete failure and no understanding whatsoever, thereby requiring the help of interpreters. The other two types of communities are a *primary speech community* where the differences are idiosyncratic or idiolectal, and a *secondary speech community* where understanding is only partially achieved. Since Haugen (1972) sees Switzerland as a tertiary speech community, he postulates the requirement of an 'international' or 'auxiliary' language. In other words, such a situation calls for the intervention of language planning which would aim to manage an auxiliary language and the

effects of its usage. The instrumental functions of English render it as neutral, thereby bringing out the contrast with the Swiss mother tongues which act as the embodiment of culture and identity. Consequently, one of the recurring yet vital questions that is usually asked is the one about the development of a new Swiss identity based on a non-indigenous language of wider communication.

Switzerland is a self-proclaimed multilingual country where multilingualism underlies the societal organization and the solidarity among people speaking different languages. Stevenson (1990: 242) argues that multilingualism makes Switzerland “more vulnerable to the insidious challenge of a non-indigenous language that is in a position to usurp some of the functions of native languages.” However, the emphasis in the concept of the Swiss nation has been put on the federal principles fostering diversity rather than on one language symbolizing national unity and identity. English has become a part of people’s bi- or multilingual repertoires. In terms of the official language policy of Switzerland, multilingualism would be more often connected with the national level, while bilingualism relates better to the individual level and scope of linguistic repertoires.

In Switzerland English is perceived as a foreign language, though practically all Swiss citizens are well aware of the fact that they could not do without English in their everyday lives, and that some level of a command of English is needed for a professionally successful and profitable career (cf. Dürmüller 1991: 151; Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2013: 59). Dürmüller (1986: 31) underlines the symbolic values of English able to function as an emblem of ethnicity for the Swiss. Thus English as an *interlanguage* is expected primarily to serve the purposes of pure communication and, in the second place, also of those senses that are more affective (cf. e.g. Watts & Andres 1993, Rosenberger 2009: 121). The patterns of the use of English in non-native settings seem to most bring out the pragmatic qualities of the language that may be termed either as ‘second’ (ESL) or ‘foreign’ (EFL) (cf. Kachru 1985). In neither case is English an official language, but the frequency of its usage and the range of domains where it appears are much more evident in ESL countries than in EFL countries. In ESL countries English plays an important role particularly in business, technology, higher education and science. In this context Watts and Andres (1993: 111) observe that “the two terms [ESL and EFL] are the endpoints of a scale of non-native English usage rather than a dichotomous categorization.” Therefore, in terms of the non-native English usage, Switzerland has always been categorized as an EFL country but, since recently, also with the reservation that it might be moving toward the ESL end of the scale. This observation is also shared by Cheshire and Moser (1994: 454) who state that “it [English] cannot be considered to be a second language, as it is in countries such as India or Nigeria, but neither is it a

foreign language, as it is in countries such as Japan. Instead, its status lies somewhere in between” (cf. also Dürmüller 1986, 2002).

The last issue to consider here are the chances for English to be used as a language of intra-national communication in Switzerland. The diversity of language groups and the various degrees of their mutual unwillingness to use each other's language create favourable conditions for the English usage. The main advantages of English in Switzerland build on the fact that it is neutral to all linguistic groups and – to use de Swaan's (2001) terminology – it has a high communication value. Dürmüller (1989: 14) reports about the instances of English being used as a *lingua franca* between the Swiss who cannot communicate in their respective mother tongues. English comes predominantly as the second choice, if the second Swiss national language of either interlocutor does not suffice for effective communication. The chances for English to play an important communication role in Switzerland depend very much on how the Swiss react to the spread of English in their country, as well as on the answer to the question of whether English really needs to stand in a *competitive relationship* to the national languages (cf. Dingwall & Murray 1999).

3. PARADIGMS OF MULTILINGUAL CONTACT

This subsection aims to distinguish three conceptual paradigms of the relationships of ethnicity to nationhood, having distinct implications for the functions of English, i.e. to homogenize or to contain ethnic diversity or to make it possible for the varied ethnic communities to learn and benefit from their differences. The paradigms outlined below for the reference to Switzerland were originally formulated to depict the multiracial, multilingual and multicultural conditions of Singapore (cf. Alsagoff & Lick 1998). Yet, Switzerland would require a paradigmatic framework that could serve as a point of reference for its own linguistic scenarios. The idea of drafting such paradigms seems helpful in determining the place of a dominant language in a multilingual environment in a macro perspective. It should be pointed out that these three paradigms are not absolutely demarcated, and some elements may be taken and combined selectively from each, i.e. fusion, mosaic and symbiosis.

The *fusion* paradigm obscures the distinctions between individual ethnic groups. A nation is made of a homogenized substance, i.e. population. In the end, ethnic distinctiveness is lost. The process of nation-building rests on a “fundamental contradiction” or “competing loyalties” (Alsagoff & Lick 1998: 208), with ethnicity on the one side and nationhood on the other. This loyalty is understood as a finite resource, which means that its proportions are always inverse, i.e. the more loyalty is expressed towards an ethnic community, the less remains for the nation, and vice versa. In the fusion approach, dissimilarities are essentially

centrifugal, weakening the common bonds. Ethnicity is synonymous with divisiveness, ethnocentrism and parochialism. In such circumstances English, as a language void of ethnic traces, neutralizes ethnic distinctiveness in the population's consciousness and overcomes the functions of vernaculars. Therefore, the fusion paradigm features English as a perfect tool for de-ethnicizing the population.

The *mosaic* paradigm takes ethnic communities as the building blocks of the nation. In this view, the national identity consolidates while preserving the cultural traditions and identity of each ethnic community. The concept of ethnic building blocks corresponds with multiculturalism and multilingualism. This ideology provides reassurance that the languages and cultures of individual communities will be safeguarded and that the nation is determined to preserve their diversity. Ethnicity is both practically used in nation-building and kept contained at the same time. Unlike the fusion paradigm, the mosaic paradigm acknowledges the constructive role of ethnicity in nation-building. In fact, the mosaic model of ethnic communities symbolizes a pluralistic cultural democracy in which all ethnic groups enjoy equal cultural and linguistic rights. Thus, the mosaic paradigm fosters the mutual containment between languages. The impact of English should be reflected in economic success and national unity, whereas the vernaculars should serve as cultural ballast.

In the *symbiosis* paradigm, like in the mosaic paradigm, ethnicity contributes to nationhood. However, the idea of symbiosis focuses more on the concept of interethnic relationships as mutual liberation rather than mutual containment. This concept prioritizes an ideology of multiculturalism which involves certain commitments as well as ensuring unity, equality and tolerance. These commitments refer to the cultivation and protection of self-confidence and self-respect in each ethnic group, including the promotion of mutual trust and support. In the symbiosis view, multiculturalism should also foster intercultural consciousness. Inter-culturalness means an openness to differences, to the variety of human possibilities, and opportunities for experience. In this respect, intercultural consciousness is liberating because it enables each culture to determine its own limitations, to challenge its own perspectives and ways, and to broaden its horizons through learning from cross-cultural differences.

To sum up, in the symbiosis paradigm *Swissness* would mean essentially interculturalness. The different ethnic cultures – self-critical and mutually respectful – support, complement and benefit from one another. The concept of symbiosis stands in contradiction to the fusion paradigm of nation-building, and transcends the mosaic paradigm in the sense that it goes beyond the equal treatment of different groups. The idea of symbiosis puts English on an equal footing with German, French and Italian. All these languages become

effective tools for ethnic self-creation and development. The neutrality of English is one of the major justifications for its status as the common language. It is not owned by any of the parties concerned and, as a result, none of the major ethnic communities in Switzerland can be regarded as a favoured one. I am of the opinion that the symbiosis paradigm clearly brings out the usefulness of an 'ethnically neutral' language. English in Switzerland may successfully serve two important purposes and, in fact, to some extent it does this already. First, thanks to its neutral status, English grants everyone similar opportunities regardless of their ethnic background, thereby becoming a common denominator for anybody involved. Second, English promotes not only ethnic harmony and national unity, but also fosters a national (Swiss) identity. Therefore, a common language that brings citizens of diverse ethnic origins together and provides them with opportunities for interaction and mutual understanding, can be a powerful factor consolidating the nation in its building of the sense of *Swissness*. Certainly, the role of English in Switzerland cannot be simply assumed. Instead, it needs to be critically assessed against the background of different understandings of ethnicity, culture, multiculturalism as well as *Swissness*. Referring to the descriptions of the Swiss context with the specific role played by English, it appears that no feature of the fusion paradigm can be applied in the case of Switzerland. Instead, the concept of Swiss identity seems to be in line with the symbiotic viewpoint, understood mainly as an ethnic and cultural reciprocity. However, the most accurate illustration of the language situation in Switzerland is the one based, though not entirely, on the mosaic paradigm. Indeed, the mosaic specificity of linguistic regions in this country is reinforced and maintained by *the territorial principle* which operates at the level of cantons and is understood as a guarantee of their linguistic autonomy, by which cantons are authorized to guard their languages sanctioned by tradition. The territorial principle permits each canton to determine which language will be official within its jurisdiction and thereby imposes on individuals the obligation to adapt to the language of the canton. The territorial principle can only regulate language use in official contexts, but the degree to which individual speakers actually adapt to the language of the canton in which they find themselves is variable (cf. Billigmeier 1979: 424, Rash 1998: 35, Stevenson 1990: 238). All in all, the constitutional guarantees given to language communities can be fully realized by means of the territorial principle being seen not so much as a restriction, but rather as a positive instrument of fulfilling national obligations.

4. A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY²

The empirical knowledge needed to formulate the Swiss paradigm presented below comes from the CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) survey carried out in the canton of Zurich in 2011. The research was conducted from the CATI telephone studio centre of the PBS Ltd research institute in Sopot, Poland. CATI is a technique used to realize large quantitative research projects. It consists in conducting interviews over the telephone aided by the use of the computer. In total, 400 successful phone interviews were made, based on a questionnaire with closed-ended questions. The most frequent question formats of closed questions include *yes-no* answers, ranking schemes, multiple choice or semantic differentials (cf. Fasold 1984: 152). In closed questions, the freedom to present one's views is limited to some extent, but the positive aspects seem to be appreciated by both respondents and researchers. For the former, these questions are much easier to deal with than open questions, whereas for the latter, closed questions are easy to score.

The research was based on probability sampling, representative of the city and the canton of Zurich, and characterized on the basis of the data concerning gender, age, education and employment. The number of women and men participating in the research is comparable. All respondents were adults, half of whom are persons between 35 and 54 years old. The group of respondents over 55 equals 38%. The youngest age category, i.e. persons between 18 and 34, made up as many as 11%. Nearly half of the respondents are people with primary or lower secondary education (48%). The second biggest group concerns the graduates of universities or colleges (28%). Every fifth respondent has declared to have an upper secondary level of education (20%). And, two thirds of all interviewees work professionally (67%).

The collected interviews have made it possible to outline the language repertoires of the Swiss, as well as their opinions and attitudes towards English and its acquisition. The data attained from this empirical research are viewed as a means serving to explore specific processes and phenomena that concern the development of the position of English closely surrounded by other languages. The adopted approach entails interpreting the results in line with the principles of inferential statistics about a given population which make it possible to make predictions or more general inferences about a given population from the analysis of the sample (cf. Babbie 2005: 497, Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero 2006: 17, 344).

² For more details on the CATI methodology see Stępkowska (2013: 225-237).

5. THE SWISS PARADIGM

The proposed paradigm features multilingualism as a linguistic environment of a dominant language with the functions it is expected to serve. The discussion focuses on the question of English becoming an actual *lingua franca* or some form of a 'working' language for the country's internal communication. This also involves the question of English being employed by the Swiss as a means of performing other vital functions like constructing a new shared identity, thereby – to some extent – providing a mechanism for gradually eroding the status of the existing vernaculars. The relevant literature dealing with the macro-sociolinguistic aspects of the Swiss context reveals that the present situation in Switzerland seems to be set in the direction of a symbiotic relationship of English and the Swiss vernaculars. Therefore, it is assumed that the situation relating to English in Switzerland is moderately dynamic as evidenced by the recent statistics which reveal a steady growth of the popularity of English among the Swiss (cf. Lüdi & Werlen 2005).

Referring to the problem of global English, the Swiss context – somehow naturally – induces two main questions: (a) whether Swiss multilingualism makes the expansion of English easier in Switzerland, and (b) how English functions in the competing milieu of other big languages within one country. In the light of the above considerations, it may be assumed that English stands the chance of becoming an intra-national *lingua franca* in Switzerland, simultaneously being used for the purposes of international communication. As Dürmüller (1989) states, where one language group seems quite unwilling to use another language (the French-speaking Swiss) and another language group mostly has to use other languages (the Italian-speaking Swiss), the chances of English to be used as a language for intra-national communication may be seen as 'increasing.' To use Kachru's (1985) terminology, the full transformation of English from a foreign into a second language would shove Switzerland from the Expanding Circle into the Outer Circle of countries, generally characterized by an increased use of English in public life. It is this development that is generally seen as unsettling the traditional linguistic stability of multilingual Switzerland (cf. e.g. Altermatt 1997; Ammon & McConnell 2002).

As for the individual repertoires of the Swiss people, they have turned out to be rather modest in the past (e.g. Andres 1993; Dürmüller 1997, 2002; Pap 1990). It would be hard to say that the Swiss are functionally bilingual, and even more so that they are multilingual. Thus, the polyglot dialogue based on the combination of respective languages based on the mother tongues of the potential interlocutors may be treated as an exception that proves the rule of there being little multilingual activity stipulated by the policy guidelines. It should be clearly stated that despite the appreciable growth of interest in learning English, this trend does not seem to affect negatively the languages in which the Swiss express their identities.

Dürmüller's (2002: 121) observation concerning the weakening motivation of the Swiss to learn a second or a third national language truthfully renders "the utilitarian thinking of the Swiss and their acceptance of a world-wide culture transported by the English language." As the consequence of such attitudes, the four-language repertoire of Switzerland has been abridged to a repertoire of two and a half languages, i.e. the mother tongue, English and a 'half' of a second national language in the sense of a passive knowledge of that language (cf. Watts 2001: 309).

As far as the functions of English in Switzerland are concerned, the existing literature on the subject mentions many recurring predictions which appear to have been confirmed also by the inferences drawn from the results of the CATI survey. For instance, it would be hard to disagree with Dingwall and Murray (1999: 200), who name three functions of English in Switzerland at the end of the last century: (1) English as an international language, (2) English as a cultural symbol, and (3) English as a neutral intra-national foreign language. And, practically the same three types of functions for English in Switzerland have been identified by another pair of authors – Cheshire and Moser (1994: 453).

The macro level of social and linguistic analysis adopted in this article makes it possible to view the phenomena related to English as determinants contributing to the international sociolinguistic balance of power, which – according to Fishman (1977: 335) – include the spread of English, the control of English, and the fostering of national vernaculars. In what follows, the CATI research results are interpreted in the form of a conceptual paradigm that is intended to provide a basis for an account of the multilingual situation in the canton of Zurich. This account should be treated as an analytic outline or a set of terms and descriptions of interrelations and concepts rather than as a consistent collection of principles aspiring to form a system of empirical generalizations. Also, it should be stressed that the role of English in Switzerland cannot be assumed without reservations. The Swiss paradigm features the role of English as an intra-national language which denotes a language other than the mother tongue, and which is used for communication purposes within one country. This 'intra-national' usage of English is meant to be different from the status of a 'second' or 'foreign' language, although generally the acquisition of English in Switzerland is typical of a foreign language. English does not spread in Switzerland as a new mother tongue, but distinctly as an additional language. Figure 1 below represents the conceptualization of English in Switzerland in the form of *the Swiss paradigm* by referring to the vital macro-sociolinguistic concepts emerging at the interface of society and language.

	<i>The Swiss paradigm</i>
<i>Ethnicity and nationhood</i>	Ethnic communities play a vital role in the nation-building. Ethnicity is appreciated for its constructive contribution to the consolidation of nationhood.
<i>Identity</i>	Identity builds on inter-cultural-ness. The diverse participating ethnic communities interact in the spirit of a dialogic culture and mutual respect. The ethnic groups are supposed to learn and benefit from their differences, as well as support and complement one another.
<i>Status of English</i>	English is accepted as an intra-national (but non-national) language for within-the-country communication purposes. It has been unofficially assigned the status of a <i>lingua franca</i> or a language of wider communication, but only in some domains of life, such as business, international trade, science or entertainment. Although there are some indications of a status change from EFL to ESL, English is still perceived as a foreign language.
<i>Role of English</i>	English handles certain language problems, thereby facilitating communication across the linguistic barriers within the country. It is mainly used for Special Purposes (ESP). As a 'neutral' second language, English is used by all the Swiss language groups to help prevent ethnic polarization or confrontation. Apart from fulfilling linguistic needs, English as a world language may be appropriated in order to express new social identities or may also serve as a symbolic resource. It is via English that the Swiss nation is exposed to alien lifestyles and values, thus the national languages are felt to fulfil the purpose of cultural 'immunization.'
<i>Language repertoires</i>	English belongs to a repertoire of a societal and individual type, whereby the latter tends to have a simplified composition. Bilinguals who speak English as a second language propagate it and create its importance. The use of English for Special Purposes also makes the language strengthen its position within the societal type of the language repertoire. The altered shape of repertoires leads to a diglossic type of relationship where regional vernaculars coexist with English as a dominant language of a larger scope.
<i>Attitudes toward English</i>	English is regarded as important to individuals' future careers. English also enjoys a high degree of acceptance since it is considered the most useful language. Swiss speakers of English display an exonormative orientation. The general acceptance of the language indicates that the public is ready to welcome English and include it in their language repertoires in the first place.
<i>Language policy</i>	The efforts in the language policy of Switzerland as a country of four national languages aim to maintain the traditional bi- or multilingual types of communication. English is not considered as another official language of the country, but instead it has firmly settled itself in the Swiss language policy and planning as the most (or the first) popular foreign language.

Figure 1: The paradigm of a multilingual contact: the Swiss paradigm.

6. DISCUSSION

English as a *lingua franca*, both in the local and global context, does not have to present a threat to other languages used in multilingual contexts. Interlingual and intercultural dialogue is possible precisely thanks to an additional language treated as nothing more than a useful

tool. Language policy in Switzerland seems to be gradually incorporating English into its multilingual communication reality. The introduction of English into the Swiss schools is the consequence of the changes brought about by the globalization phenomena, as well as by the strong demand for learning English from the Swiss themselves. Despite the strong tradition of multilingualism and its unquestionable value, it is evident that the Swiss – both the language-planners and average citizens – are open to English. At present, the Swiss language policy seems to be looking for a golden mean in order not to allow to marginalize the roles of the French- and Italian-speaking minorities and, on the other hand, to control the spread of English nationwide. It cannot be said that English in Switzerland receives uncritical acceptance in every situation. Rather, it may be argued that English is widely accepted with no fears of losing the national languages' identity. The fact that English is preferred by the Swiss comes from concrete communication needs which are the source of instrumental motivation. It may be even assumed that a highly functional approach to English excludes the possibility of its entering the more intimate domains of life reserved for the national languages in non-native speakers. The language behaviour of individuals is always subordinate to the main goal of communication. If the usefulness of a language scores highly, it will be improved, and if not, the language will be pushed down to more distant places in individual repertoires. It is this hierarchy of languages in the repertoires of bi- or multilingual individuals that raises the biggest concerns in sociolinguists. Postulating a rigid order of languages in the repertoires – e.g. a mother tongue always needs to come first in terms of usefulness and its frequency of use, followed by another national language (if there is one), and then by a *lingua franca* – inevitably leads to a (hyper)critical assessment of most circumstances in which language minorities exist. The assumption that a language assuming the function of a *lingua franca* always has to be in destructive opposition to the national languages would not only reveal a fallacious line of reasoning, but also misrepresent the essence of multilingualism.

7. CONCLUSION

The conducted CATI survey has revealed that English acquired a high place in the linguistic repertoires of the Swiss living in the canton of Zurich. Admittedly, English has already proved to be the most useful language (after German) in multilingual Switzerland, though it has not achieved the status of a *lingua franca* yet. Based on the present language situation, it may be assumed that English as a globalizing language continues heading towards a status change from a foreign language into a second language (cf. Kachru 1985). The language conditions in Switzerland, distinguished by a high degree of stability, seem to create an equally predictable scenario for the future of English. It has been stipulated that a broadly

understood multilingual context seen in the macro-sociolinguistic perspective should be formulated – which accordingly has been conceptualized as the Swiss paradigm. Referring to Switzerland in name, this linguistic paradigm is assumed to describe and validate the factors that create conditions conducive to the development of a globalizing language in other multilingual contexts.

The future communication among the Swiss may include an increasing frequency of English usage, but it is unlikely to consist of English-only contacts. The teaching of foreign languages responds to the demands of the linguistic market and is involved in its development. The worldwide appeal of English induces an increased interest in its learning. People need not be encouraged to study English as its utility is unquestionable, although they seem to be driven not so much by choice as by necessity. Thus, also due to the global factors, English-based multilingualism in Switzerland stands a good chance of prevailing, though other languages also represent an option for communication.

Our times have come to be characterized by a peculiar paradox. On the one hand, we observe a freedom of movement that logically favours one language, gradually endowing it with the status of a *lingua franca*. On the other, we hear demands for cultural freedom induced by a resentment against the monopoly of dominant languages. An acceptable solution to such communication challenges will require a massive collaborative effort consisting in the monitoring of linguistic trends through research and, certainly, a concerted political effort.

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TEENAGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS FRANGLAIS IN FRANCE AND FRANCOPHONE SWITZERLAND

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Abstract

The insertion of English items into the French language has gradually become more and more common since the 1950s: from *e-mail* through to *lunch bag*, French is now pervaded by English words. Elaborating on this observation, this article examines and compares the attitudes to these words – belonging to the *franglais* paradigm – as reported by teenagers of France and francophone Switzerland. Based on empirical questionnaire-derived data, it shows, after a quick review of the sociolinguistic background of each area of investigation that the use and perception of *franglais* among teenagers is similar in the two countries, where *franglais* appears to be frequently used and favourably considered

Key-words: Franglais, Anglicisms, globalisation, Académie française, youth language, Swiss French, French French.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

In 1964, French writer Étiemble published *Parlez-vous franglais?*, denouncing what he called “le sabir atlantique” or, in other words, the linguistic imperialism of the English language, whose vocabulary was gradually penetrating the French language. At a time when America was taking over the economy, Étiemble’s book quickly became a bestseller in France. The journalists praised “l’espèce de génie créateur de ce diable d’homme” (*Le Monde*, 1964) and the book was to be published in a new augmented edition in 1973 and in 1980. To launch his book, Étiemble toured France to hold conferences and even stopped in Lausanne, where his talk also met with success. Talking to a full house, Étiemble charmed the audience and the Swiss journalists praised him in their articles: “M. Étiemble lutte pour une bonne cause” wrote the reporter of the *Journal de Genève* in 1965.

That was fifty years ago. At that time, for Switzerland, “le bon usage” was dictated by Paris and [...] ‘tout ce qui ne figure pas dans le dictionnaire n’est pas français.’” (Charnley 2002: 191). However, the French language spoken in Switzerland has evolved since then and the second half of the 20th century has been a time of development of the Swiss variety of French in Romandie, gradually differentiating itself from Standard French (Prikhodkine

¹ The author would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers, as well as the editor, Patricia Ronan, for their helpful advice. All remaining shortcomings are, of course, the author’s responsibility.

2011). One is hence entitled to wonder if Étiemble would be as welcome today as he was in the 1960s and if France and Switzerland would still share the same attitudes as far as *franglais* is concerned. Elaborating on this question, this article explores the stance of French and Swiss teenagers concerning the insertions of English words into the French language. Based on the results of a questionnaire survey, it particularly seeks to determine (1) if French and Swiss teenagers use *franglais*, (2) the way French and Swiss teenagers value *franglais* and (3) if French and Swiss teenagers differ from each other as far as *franglais* is concerned. After defining what *franglais* consists of, the linguistic background of each country is reviewed, with special attention paid to the institutional and societal treatment of *franglais*. The method used to elicit and treat the data is discussed in the following section, prior to presenting the findings of the study. Conclusions are drawn in the last section.

2. ENGLISH ITEMS IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE? A DEFINITION OF FRANGLAIS WORDS

Examples of language contact throughout the world have shown that languages can influence each other in a wide range of ways: new features of pronunciation, lexical evolution, syntactic changes or new graphemic styles are just few of the various and numerous outcomes of language contact, which may potentially impact all the levels of a given language. This multi-stratal influence has also been demonstrated in the case of English and Romance languages, whose contact results in different types of anglicisms, including (among others) phonological, graphemic, syntactic, morphological, lexical and semantic anglicisms (Gómez Capuz 1997). While all these types of anglicisms also exist in the case of French, the present study focuses solely on *franglais* words, as defined by Thody:

The implicit definition of a 'franglais' word is that of a term which is of visibly English or American origin [and] which has not been fully assimilated into the language (1995:16).

'Franglais' thus refers to the most salient lexical anglicisms, that is to say those words that still sound English (be they genuine loans or pseudo-loans, i.e. words which sound English but do not actually exist in English) when encountered by a native speaker of French. Words such as *e-mail*, *babyfoot* and *shopping* are typical examples of items that were investigated within this study.

3. DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF INVESTIGATION? SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF FRANCE AND ROMANDIE

Although France and Romandie share the same language, French, the sociolinguistic context of each country strongly differs from the one to the other. France, on the one hand, has a very strong tradition of interventionist linguistic policy: from the Edict of Villers-Cotteret of 1539

imposing the use of French in the whole country through to our times, French has been used as a tool to strengthen the power of the state and unify its citizens (Adamson 2007). The present situation of French in France reflects this long interventionist tradition, as it is to date protected by numerous laws and institutional measures. The first of them consists in the *Loi Toubon*, a legal provision seeking to maintain the status of French in France. Passed in 1994, the law ensures that French be used whenever a message is publicly addressed, be it in adverts, contracts or corporate names, for example. Although its efficiency has been criticized (Chaudenson 2006, Adamson 2007, Grigg 1997), it is still in force today and definitely influences the linguistic landscape in France. The *Dispositif d'enrichissement de la langue française* is another of these measures and results from the *Loi Toubon*. Because words of foreign origin are legally prohibited in public spaces, the *Dispositif* is in charge of creating the new words needed to cope with the societal and technical evolutions. The *Dispositif* involves almost all the institutions in charge of dealing with language in France, such as the *Académie des Sciences*, the *Association française de normalisation*, the *Institut national de la langue française*, the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* and the *Académie française*. Although its efficiency has also been criticized (Chaudenson 2006, Thody 1995, Bogaards 2008), the *Dispositif* remains an important characteristic of the French linguistic policy, as some of its words are now widely used instead of English words. The words *ordinateur* and *affichage tête haute*, for example, imposed themselves to refer to a *computer* and *head up display*, respectively. Among the various institutions involved in the *Dispositif*, lastly, the *Académie française* deserves a special mention. Created in 1635 with the aim of ensuring the purity of the French language, the *Académie* is strongly engaged in the fight against anglicisms and regularly publishes recommendations as to how to speak correctly and avoid anglicisms. Through the *Loi Toubon*, the *Dispositif d'enrichissement de la langue française* and the *Académie française*, France is provided with a whole apparatus in charge of dealing with and regulating the French language, particularly as far as franglais is concerned.

The linguistic situation is, however, completely different in Switzerland and Romandie. Whereas France tries to enforce the use of one sole language on its territory, the linguistic policy of Switzerland distinguishes itself by its liberalism and enforces the use of multiple languages, possibly English. As language freedom is guaranteed by the federal constitution, Switzerland neither does nor wishes nor is able to legislate on anglicisms, which are, legally speaking, free to be used in the country. Furthermore, the only linguistic agency in charge of dealing with French, the *Délégation à la langue française*, has shown no interest in anglicisms so far and has not made any communication on the subject. Accordingly, the legal and institutional linguistic situation of Switzerland concerning anglicisms completely differs

from the one in France, with the former country being extremely permissive and the latter extremely strict.

Whereas the institutional and legal situations of France and Switzerland concerning anglicisms are clearly defined and different from each other, the status of anglicisms within their society is harder to assess. In the case of France, the growth of the English influence onto French has been met, on the one hand, with the creation of numerous NGOs and publications decrying this evolution. Associations such as (among others) the *Association Francophonie Avenir*, the *Association pour la sauvegarde et l'expansion de la langue française* or the *Collectif Unitaire Républicain pour la Résistance, l'Initiative et l'Emancipation Linguistique* seem to testify to the attachment of the population to its language and confirm Grigg's comment on the *Loi Toubon* that

the very fact that the subject has been brought to the public's attention for debate can only bolster support for the plight of the language [...]. The French population has been forced to think about the effects of Anglo-American words on its language, and in a way the whole process has functioned like an immense nationwide trial." (Grigg 1997:384)

On the other hand, various sociolinguistic studies have shown that the French population is not as unamenable to anglicisms as the French state is. Four studies (Spence 1999, Guilford 1997, Walker 2002 and Walsh 2013) have been particularly concerned with anglicisms and come to conclusions such as:

many French citizens are not as purist nor as hostile to Anglo-American culture as the politicians who oppose *franglais* (Spence 1999: 136, translation by the present author)

loans are welcome and accepted (Guilford 1997: 133, translation by the present author)

The relationship of the French citizens to *franglais* is thus ambivalent, with part of the population opposing it and another part embracing it.

The situation is even more difficult to assess in the case of Switzerland and Romandie. Whereas the growth of the English influence onto French has also been met with the creation of a NGO, the *Association Défense du français*, the present author could not find any sociolinguistic study particularly pertaining to anglicisms in the western part of Switzerland. Though Rash (1996) already dealt with the topic, her study only takes eastern Switzerland and the Swiss-German language into consideration. The perception of *franglais* expressions in Romandie remained to be investigated.

4. DATA AND METHOD

In order to compare France and Switzerland, this study focuses on one specific group of informants in each country, final year high school students. To gather their opinion, a

questionnaire was designed and distributed to six classes in two high schools, the one in the city of Amiens, in France, and the other in the city of Lausanne, in Switzerland. The two groups were chosen for their similarity: Lausanne and Amiens are comparable in size and the two high schools are comparable in terms of social class and location within the city. The questionnaires were completed in class by the two sets of informants in October 2013. The French set of informants was made up of 51 students aged between 16 and 19, 32 girls and 19 boys, who all speak French at home. The Swiss set of informants was made up of 55 students aged between 17 and 21, 29 girls and 26 boys. The majority of them (85%) speak French at home, the remaining part speak other languages.

As the questionnaire contained many closed questions for which the respondents had to tick or cross, statistical analysis and testing were also carried out. The results of these tests appear in the commentary accompanying the results in the next section. The tests used were the chi-square test, the Fisher exact test and the *t*-test – depending on the type of question. As the number of participants remains low, the Fisher exact test was preferred to the chi-square test whenever the format of the question allowed it. The standard of $p\text{-value} \leq 0.05$ was also considered as the significance threshold for this study.

5. RESULTS

The first part of the research aimed at assessing the general point of view of the informants towards English and French. In order to do so, the informants were first asked to report on the associations they had with the two languages. As the question was open and no items suggested, this provided us with a range of replies by each informant. The six most frequently appearing terms in the informants' answers are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

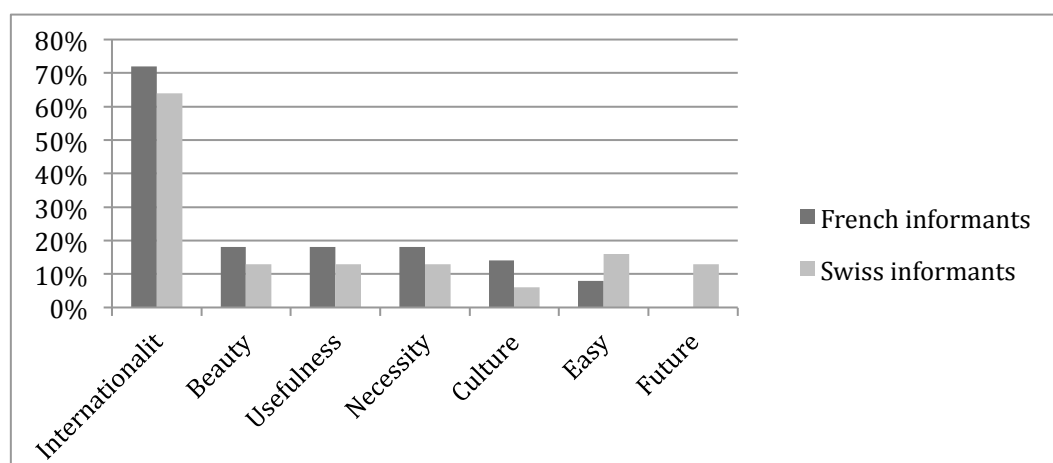


Figure 1: informants' most frequent associations with English

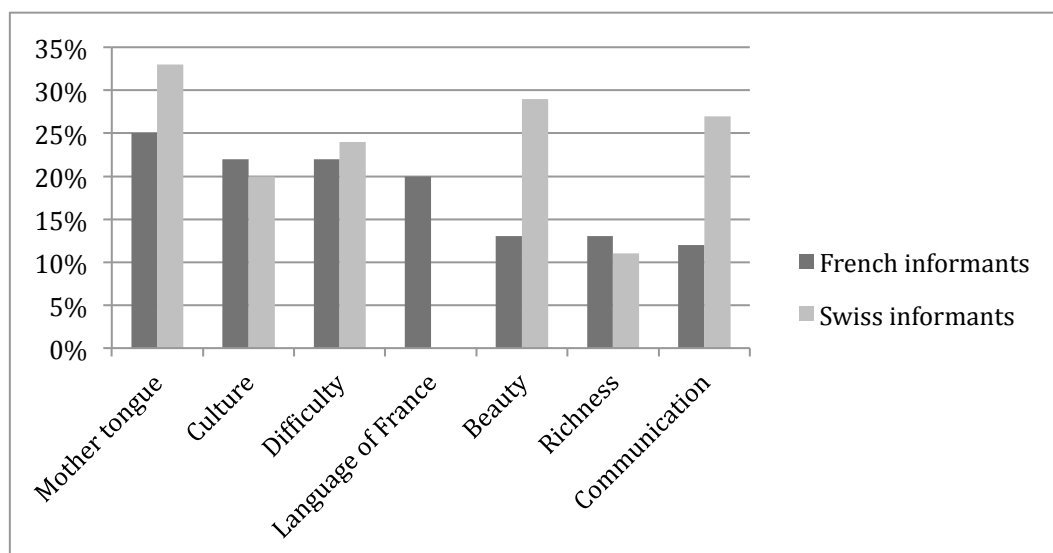


Figure 2: informants' most frequent associations with French

The examination of the two figures above reveals that, for each language, five associations are common to both groups. English thus typically prompts positive associations, such as *internationality*, *beauty*, *usefulness*, *necessity* and *ease* whereas the associations prompted by the French language are more nuanced with *mother tongue*, *culture*, *beauty*, *richness*, but also *difficulty* (even for native speakers – 22% of the French and 24% of the Swiss set of informants report French to be difficult, while no non-native speaker of French is to be found in the French group and only 15% in the Swiss group). Hence, and for each language, there is only one difference between the two groups: the French informants do not associate English with future and the Swiss informants do not consider French as the language of France. This first part of the questionnaire was supplemented by a closed question asking the respondents to report on their attachment to French, in which they had to select between the statements “I feel attached to French” and “French is a means of communication for me”. Here again, the results are similar, as illustrated in Table 1:

Table 1: attachment of the informants to the French language

	French informants	Swiss informants
I feel attached to French	58%	59%
French is a means of communication	42%	41%

The results obtained for this first part of the questionnaire thus demonstrate that the French and the Swiss respondents share similar representations of the two languages at stake with franglais. Both groups have a positive attitude towards English and a more ambiguous relationship to their own language, which they both praise but find complex. Both groups nevertheless claim to be attached to it.

In order to investigate perception of franglais items, and the reasons triggering their use, the informants were first given a text containing a high number of franglais words. To ensure that the informants were not yet alerted to the focus of the study, this element was placed at the very beginning of the questionnaire. In this open question, the informants were simply asked to report whatever they noticed in the text provided. Figure 3 indicates the proportion of informants who reported the heavy use of franglais.

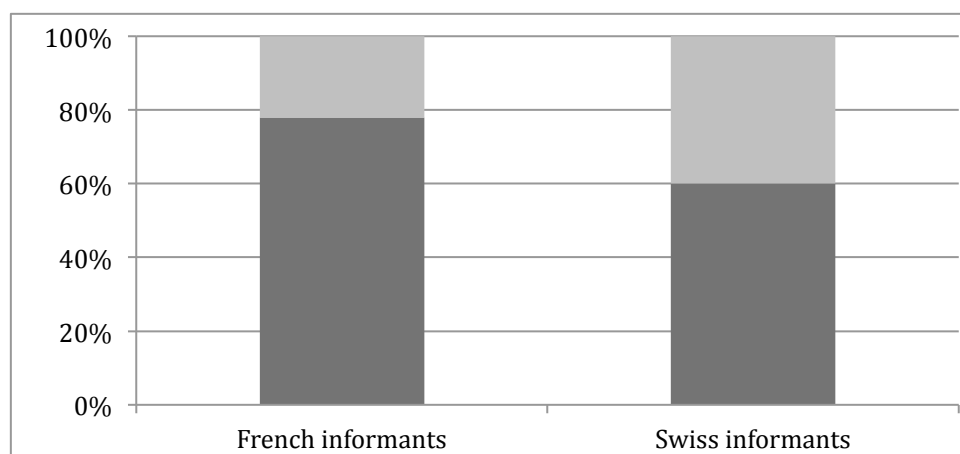


Figure 3: Proportion of informants who reported franglais (in dark colour) and did not report franglais (in light colour)

As Figure 3 shows, the majority of both groups still reported franglais terms when they encounter them in a text. Although a larger number of French than Swiss informants report them than the Swiss ones, the difference is not statistically significant (Fisher exact test p -value = 0.06). Thus, franglais still seems to be part of the extraordinary for most informants.

The next question asked the informants to report on their own frequency of use of franglais. The results are given in Figure 4.

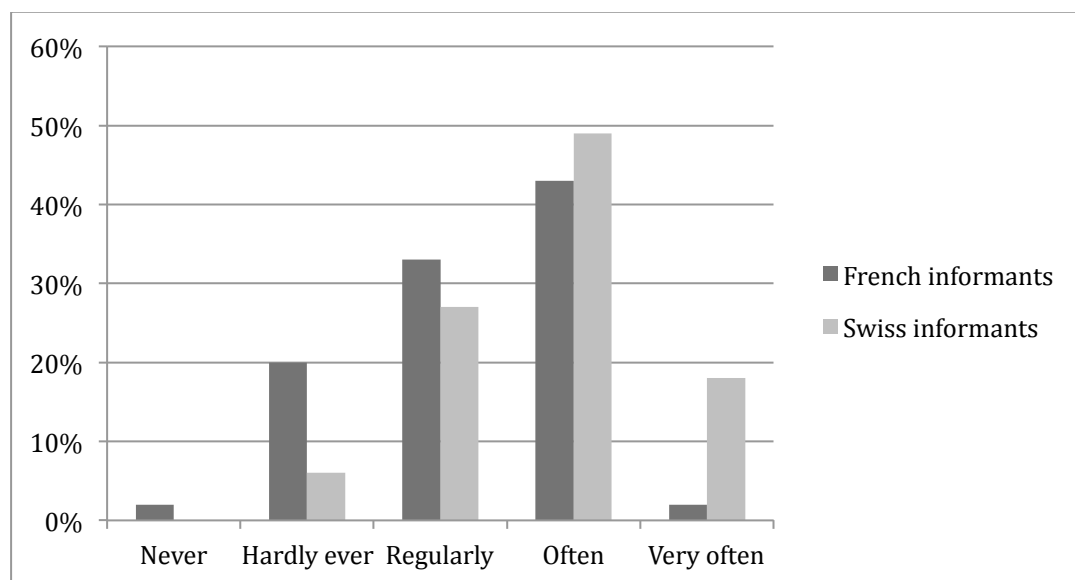


Figure 4: Reported frequency of use of franglais by the two groups

As Figure 4 shows, the majority of the informants report using franglais either regularly or often. The difference between the two groups is significant (unpaired t-test p -value=0.0007). This high frequency of use nevertheless appears to be limited to an oral context as 82% of the French informants and 98% of the Swiss ones claim to try to avoid franglais more in a formal or written context than in an oral context. Franglais is thus frequently used by the informants of both groups, though they are still aware of its use as seen in the frequency of its reporting in texts and its explicit avoidance in formal contexts.

The reasons triggering the use of franglais were also investigated within this part of the research. In order to evaluate them, the informants were asked to select the most important out of four reasons, obtained by previous pilot studies carried out by the present author. The results obtained have been summarized in Figure 5.

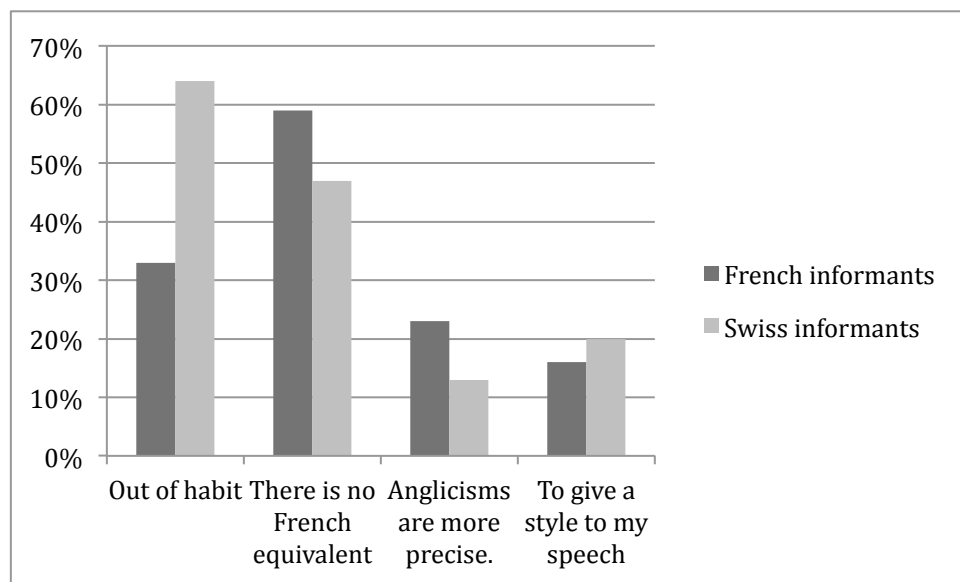


Figure 5: Reasons for using franglais words

Although some differences seem to emerge for this question, they are not important enough to be considered statistically significant (chi-square test p -value= 0.06). Both the Swiss and the French informants primarily use franglais because they are common or because there is no French equivalent and, to a lesser extent, because they are more precise or because they have a phatic function.

This second section has shown that the use of franglais does not differ from one country to the other. Although the majority of the two groups notice franglais when it appears and try to avoid its use in a formal context, they nevertheless use it often, and for similar reasons.

The third and last step of the research aimed at determining the attitude of the informants towards franglais. In order to measure their attitude, the informants were asked to rate fourteen statements related to six different aspects of franglais, using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. A no opinion option was offered as well. Each statement was also balanced by a corresponding negative statement in order to check the reliability of the answers. To treat the data statistically, the answers were coded using a scale ranging from 1 to 5. The analysed aspects included (1) general position towards franglais (items 1-4), (2) aesthetics (items 5-6), (3) purism (items 7-8), (4) language maintenance (items 9-10), (5) culture (items 11-12) and (6) comprehension (items 13-14). The results obtained in both groups are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Attitude of the French and Swiss informants towards franglais

	French informants		Swiss informants		T-test two-tailed <i>p</i> -value (means)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
◆1. I'm completely opposed to franglais.	4.56	0.79	4.5	0.74	0.74
2. I'm completely open to franglais.	4	1.08	3.68	1.05	0.13
◆3. I'm irritated when someone uses franglais.	4.44	0.77	4.41	0.78	0.84
4. I like it when someone uses franglais.	3.4	0.81	3.23	0.78	0.37
◆5. Franglais harms the beauty of French	3.7	1.26	3.27	1.11	0.06
6. Franglais brings tinges to French and make it stylish.	3.29	1.25	2.96	1.13	0.17
◆7. The French language is polluted by franglais.	3.8	0.96	3.51	0.99	0.13
8. The French language is enriched by franglais.	3.35	1.23	2.96	1.39	0.13
◆9. Franglais is a threat to the survival of French.	3.55	1.1	3.61	0.98	0.77
10. Franglais is necessary for French to be still used in the future.	2.76	1.14	2.4	1.38	0.16
◆11. Franglais is a threat to our cultural wealth.	3.62	1.09	3.37	1.12	0.29
12. Franglais enhances our culture.	3.6	1.02	2.81	1.3	0.0007
◆13. The meaning of a franglais word is not always clear in French.	2.66	1.08	2.65	1.11	0.96
14. Franglais fosters a better understanding between French speakers.	2.96	1.06	2.21	1.12	0.0009
AVERAGE	3.55	1.05	3.26	1.07	0.18

◆ = Question negatively correlated to franglais. The mean written in the table has already been inverted. SD = Standard Deviation

The answers appearing in Table 2 show that the informants have a positive attitude towards franglais in general, as the positive averages of the two groups demonstrate. Furthermore, the average *p*-value according to the t-test confirms that the two groups are homogeneous. The reliability check nevertheless shows that this positive general stance is not blind faith: although the informants strongly disagree with any statement against franglais

(odd-numbered statements), they do not agree as strongly with the corresponding statement in favour of franglais (even-numbered statements). This pattern can be noted throughout the table: while most informants disagree that franglais harms the beauty of the language, they do not agree as strongly with the assumption that it makes French more pleasant either, an observation that can be repeated for the pollution of the language and its enrichment. This distribution is even more noticeable with the fourth factor (items 9 and 10): franglais is not considered a threat to the survival of the language, but its use does not guarantee its survival either. As far as culture is concerned, the same distribution as for the previous factors can be observed for the Swiss informants. The French informants, by contrast, seem to be much more positive about it and consider franglais as a way to broaden their culture. The last factor, understanding and communication, provides the only reason for which both groups seem to be opposed to franglais, which seem to cause misunderstandings to both the Swiss and the French informants. The attitudes towards franglais are thus similar for the two groups of informants, who all appear to be open to franglais in general.

6. CONCLUSION

The results presented in the above section provide a clear answer to the three research questions of this study. The question whether French and Swiss teenagers use franglais has received the answer that the informants do use franglais to a large extent, though it remains part of colloquial speech. In answer to the second question, this research has also shown that both groups associate positive values with franglais, as the two reasons evoked by most participants for this use – commonness and lack of French equivalents – testify to the importance of English in the everyday life of francophone speakers. Nonetheless, the informants' answers show that they do not vow unconditional love to English and that they remain, in majority, attached to the French language. The third and last research question of whether French and Swiss informants differ in their opinions regarding franglais is thus to be answered negatively: the French and the Swiss informants, despite the political and institutional differences between the two countries, do not appear to differ from each other as far as franglais is concerned.

We can thus see that the attitude of the Swiss informants towards franglais is not different from the one of the French informants. The global influence of English seems to be as strong and English as appreciated in Switzerland as in France, despite the purist tradition maintained by the *Académie française* and the laws in force in this latter country. The numerous associations defending French in France do not mirror the opinion and habits of the majority of the French informants, as the *Association Défense du français* does not reflect the opinion and habits of the majority of the Swiss informants either.

Both France and Switzerland – or, at least, the teenagers participating in this study – have evolved since the time of Étiemble's *Parlez-vous franglais ?*, though probably not in the way he would have liked. If his opinion were to be heard again nowadays, chances are France and Switzerland would probably still resemble each other but his discourse would certainly not be met with as much enthusiasm as back then, to say the least. This prevision, however, can only be made in case of an audience reflecting the present set of informants, that is to say, in case of a young, well-educated audience. The French and the Swiss living in different regions with different traditions and backgrounds, it might even be possible that their perceptions differ within similar populations. Further research is thus still needed in order to give a comprehensive overview of the overall situation of franglais in France and Switzerland, especially as sociolinguistic studies concerned with other languages have shown that age plays a crucial role in its perception, with older people appearing to be more critical about the use of franglais. A new study with a larger sample population could also allow taking the gender dimension into account, which had to be left out of this study due to the small number of informants of each gender. Accordingly, age and gender are two dimensions that still need to be investigated with regard to franglais. Then, and only then, could it be determined if francophone speakers really *parlent franglais* or not.

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ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: FORMS AND FEATURES IN A SWISS CONTEXT

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Abstract

This paper considers how the way that English is learned and used in Switzerland may affect the form it takes. Focussing particularly on features demonstrating sociolinguistic competence, it aims to present the different ways that English as a *lingua franca* speakers may, and may not, acquire the patterns found in native speakers. Although there is no way to predict which features will and will not be natively acquired, the paper demonstrates how sociolinguistic competence is a valuable tool in understanding how English might develop in future in Switzerland and elsewhere as different features have different outcomes.

Key-words: English, Sociolinguistic Competence, ELF, Switzerland, SLA, LVC

1. INTRODUCTION

It is relatively uncontested that English is used as a *lingua franca* in Switzerland and has been for a number of years (Cheshire and Moser 1994, Droeschel 2011, Dürmüller 2001, 2002, Durham 2003, 2014, Rosenberger 2010, Watts and Murray 2001). The main development in this *lingua franca* use has been in terms of Swiss speakers' interlocutors: initially English was primarily used with tourists (Dürmüller 2001), but in the past two decades it has been increasingly used by Swiss speakers with one another as well, making it an intranational *lingua franca* and making English a *de facto* Swiss language. Despite this second shift, it is also quite clear that English continues to be conceptualized and taught in Switzerland as a foreign language rather than a second or third language. This means that the teaching models are native speaker ones; with material focussing on British English or sometimes American English varieties.

This paper will consider the implications of these two partially opposing facets and discuss the consequences this may have in terms of the form(s) that English spoken in Switzerland may take. The focus will be on features which demonstrate sociolinguistic competence (Adamson and Regan 1991, Regan 1995) and the extent to which non-native speakers match (or don't match) native patterns of usage. Such features, where there are often two or more variants which are equally acceptable, grammatically at least, can provide a

clearer understanding of how underlying and unconscious patterns are transmitted. While this will be obviously useful to gain greater insight into how English as used in Switzerland may be changing, it is also relevant beyond Switzerland: English is a *lingua franca* in an increasing number of countries. Many, like Switzerland, have so far made no changes in the way that English is taught and perceived. This discrepancy is not anodyne, as the way that speakers use English and acquire (or do not acquire) specific aspects of it are key to understanding the forms it takes (Seidlhofer 2011). As English is used more and more widely across the world, it is vital to re-examine the ways it is classified because the native vs. ESL vs. EFL model has long been thought to no longer adequately reflect the reality in many countries.

2. ENGLISH ACROSS THE WORLD

The current situation of English across the world makes it quite clear that many older models classifying the types of English speakers in different countries no longer fully portray the entire situation and there are almost as many ways of categorizing world Englishes as there are varieties of English spoken. As noted by Cogo and Dewey (2012), Jenkins (2009) and Meierkord (2013), some groupings focus on the functions of English in different countries, others focus on the mode/manner of instruction (Modiano 1999) and yet others on the historical background of English use (Kachru 1982). None so far fully encompasses the multitude of options that exist in terms of how/why/where English is used today however. How does one deal with cases such as the Swiss one where English is still taught as a foreign language, but which is, in some situations, used on an everyday basis across the country? While this paper does not aim to resolve the issue of how to group varieties of English, by discussing some of the outcomes different uses of English may have, it hopes to demonstrate why the models need rethinking at a time when English use as an inter- and intranational language is increasing world-wide.

3. ENGLISH IN SWITZERLAND

The difficulty in classifying the different purposes for which English is used is not surprising given that this can change substantially from country to country, even within in the same area. The way that English is used in Switzerland is very different from how it is used in nearby France, Germany and Italy, for example. Many aspects of Switzerland's use of English are tied more broadly to its multilingualism, but this does not change the fact that, unlike surrounding countries, English is regularly used by Swiss speakers amongst each other nowadays.

As mentioned above, this situation is a relatively new one: English was initially used primarily for tourism purposes and thus was spoken primarily with people from outside of Switzerland. While this use continues, it has also broadened and an increasing number of people in Switzerland use it with each other – primarily as a *lingua franca* in cases where they do not share the same mother tongue. Recent census results confirm this: the results from 2013 (FSO 2014) show that out of a population of 8 million, nearly 13% of the Swiss population (i.e. a million people) regularly use English at work and 4.6% usually use it at home. It is worth noting that the ‘language at work’ numbers do not include the figures for the non-working population of students for whom English is practically always one of the required languages in schooling, so the number of speakers of English in the country is most likely even higher. The much lower rate outside of work contexts underlines the practical purposes to which English is used in Switzerland. These numbers of English users have increased in the past 15 years: the use of English in the 2000 census was lower, although even then it was clearly used sufficiently to be considered a *lingua franca* (Durham 2003, Lüdi & Werlen 2005).

This brief discussion of the changing place of English in Switzerland serves to underline the extent of its use in the country and make it clear that we must consider what form it takes, but has this shift affected the way that it is taught in any way?

4. ENGLISH TEACHING IN SWITZERLAND

To understand the teaching of English in Switzerland and how it may influence the form it takes, we must consider two separate aspects. How early and for how long English is taught, and the way in which it is taught and presented.

First of all, it must be said that English is taught earlier in Switzerland than previously – in some cantons at least. In several of the German cantons there has been a push to make English rather than French the first non-native language children learn (Busslinger 2005, Cossy 2004) and most children start learning English by the time they are 11. This obviously will affect what the English spoken by younger Swiss speakers is like as it raises the likelihood of high levels of competence in the language, although see Pfenninger (this volume) for a discussion of how motivation levels and type of instruction can be stronger predictors of language competence than starting age.

Secondly, it is important to note that all language teaching (of English, but also of French, German and Italian) is oriented towards a model outside of the country: students who learn French are focussed towards France and not French-speaking Switzerland, those who learn German have textbooks with locations in Germany and those who learn English learn

about British and American culture alongside the language. Of course, this is less surprising for English than for the national languages, but from the perspective of the teaching of English in Switzerland it could almost be said that the *lingua franca* use that might come post schooling is a bonus, rather than one of the main aims. Related to the external focus of English teaching, the lack of direct transmission of 'Swiss English' from generation to generation bears underlining: English is almost always initially learnt at school, which means that each generation is likely to have similar features to the previous one but not directly from them. There is nonetheless a small possibility of a founder effect (Mufwene 1996), at least at the point where learners of English become *lingua franca* users, in that any tendencies towards the use of one form over another will be strengthened by contact with others who also have those features.

Taking the increased *lingua franca* use and the fact that English remains taught as a foreign language, what can we expect the language to be like and to what extent could this help us better understand the changing faces of English more broadly?

5. FEATURES OF LINGUA FRANCA ENGLISH

Because of the way that it is taught and transmitted (in the classroom and almost never from parent to child), the English spoken across Switzerland is extremely unlikely to be identical across different linguistic areas, although there may be some shared features nonetheless (Droeschel 2011, Durham 2007, 2014, Rosenberger 2010) but it is still possible to examine how features with a range of variants, all of which are acceptable, are acquired by Swiss speakers as it can help us better understand how English as a Lingua Franca, ELF, is likely to change and develop more generally. It is also a chance to reflect on what features might change in cases, such as the one in Switzerland, where English is taught in one way and is used in a very different way. Previous research (Durham 2007, Durham 2014) has demonstrated that the reasons underlying the use of English can affect what it is like. For example, when considering the concept of sociolinguistic competence, it is clear that different functions and types of use can help predict whether learners will be able to match native speakers' patterns (Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2010, Howard, Mougeon & Dewaele 2013, Regan, Howard & Lemee 2009). This is important because the way that underlying features are transmitted to non-native speakers has potential implications for the future direction a language may take and can help us understand language change more broadly. Features that are 'lost' in a *lingua franca* situation may be recovered subsequently but if communicative urgency is key then they may not.

6. SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

What exactly is sociolinguistic competence? It is related to Dell Hymes' notion of communicative competence (1972), at least in the sense that it forms part of the performance and communicative aspects of language learning and socialization. Not only is it important to know when and how to communicate, but speakers also must know which form (from a range of registers or styles) is appropriate to use at what time. For example, English permits several relative pronouns within the same structure in some cases (example 1-3) and while they are all grammatically correct, there are nonetheless underlying patterns of use which native speaker follow with respect to formality, age, origin, etc.

- 1) The document we sent him
- 2) The document which we sent him
- 3) The document that we sent him (modified from Durham, 2014: 83)

Some analyses, on English in Switzerland, but in non-native *lingua franca* varieties more broadly, have focused on the features where native targets were missed: words misused, prepositions misplaced, grammatical structures misanalysed (see Meierkord 2013 for a discussion of the issues with having this as the main focus). While useful, this seems to me only a partial view of what is going on: the focus on the salient and on the different belies the fact that for the most part the language used is a close approximation to what native speakers would have. The interest then lies in the more subtle side of things: the cases where two forms are used by native speakers and really either is acceptable in most contexts, but they still are constrained in some way. This makes it possible to look beyond surface similarity and establish whether the underlying processes are the same as well, which allows for deeper insight into how closely the patterns are shared.

Given that a prime focus for English as a Lingua Franca is communication rather than matching native speaker use and patterns, it might seem odd to examine sociolinguistic competence as it is clearly highly linked to native speaker norms. But it is useful as it can better pinpoint how and when transmission is uncomplicated and where it is less so. Additionally, because of the way English is taught in Switzerland and because a native-like competence is assumed to be the aim, it can help us establish to what extent this is in fact the case.

Sociolinguistic competence and how it is acquired has received increasing attention in the 21st century and this focus can be found in language acquisition contexts of different types: native children (Foulkes, Docherty & Watt 2005, Roberts 2012, Smith, Durham & Richards 2013), students in classroom contexts (Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2010), students

in study abroad contexts (Dewaele and Regan 2002, Regan, Howard & Lemee 2009), immigrants to the United Kingdom and Ireland (as children or as adults) (Drummond 2011, 2012, Meyerhoff & Schlee 2012, Nestor, Ní Chasaide & Regan 2012, Sharma 2011), new speakers of minority languages (Nance 2015) and *lingua franca* speakers (Durham 2014). These different contexts have revealed that sociolinguistic competence is first of all not necessarily straightforward to acquire and in a number of instances learners/users never match native patterns, but also that different types of features, different uses of the variants (e.g. is one variant more stylistically constrained than the other) and of course the contexts themselves can help influence whether or not native patterns are replicated.

In terms of the potential outcomes of *lingua franca* use with respect to variable features, there are three main options which can each help us understand the ways sociolinguistic competence can be acquired.

- A. Variation fully acquired.
- B. Variation not acquired due to learning related aspects.
- C. Variation not acquired natively but new patterns visible.

Outcome A represents cases where native sociolinguistic patterns are found to be replicated in the non-native speakers. These would be instances where it would be possible to demonstrate that the non-native speakers had been able to pick up on the subtle, underlying patterns and use them in the same way as native speakers. Outcome B represents those cases where the native patterns are not replicated, i.e. those where the non-native speakers were not able to acquire the underlying patterns and produced something markedly different from native speakers. The contrast with this outcome and outcome C lies in whether the patterns found are shared across several groups (the French, Italian and German speakers in this instance) (outcome C) or whether they appear to be primarily due to language transfer and related learning issues (outcome B).

Outcome C is not always considered in research on the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence (but see Nance, 2015, Nance, McLeod, O'Rourke & Dunmore, 2015), but it is important in that it represents cases where the divergence from native patterns is not due to native language transfer or language learning difficulties, but rather where it is due to the fact that the non-native group has modified the existing patterns to their own purposes. It is especially important to allow for this option in *lingua franca* cases where language use is not necessarily modelled towards the native speakers.

7. MAIN FINDINGS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ELF IN SWITZERLAND

This section will briefly discuss examples of all three outcomes taken from previous research (for a full discussion of the features and the findings see Durham 2014). The data it comes from is a prime example of English as a *lingua franca* in Switzerland use and comprises a set of emails collected from 2001 to 2005 sent by members of a medical students' association (see Durham 2003, 2007, 2014 for a further discussion of this). In the period examined, English was the main language used by members from across Switzerland and whose native languages were French, German and Italian. This represents a natural and unforced use of English as the members decided themselves to make English the main language of their e-mails following a realisation that a mix of French and German (according to home university) was not sufficient to ensure understanding throughout. While these medical students were no longer learning English, they had of course all taken English during their school years. This is precisely the situation discussed above, in that although their learning had prepared them for English use with native speakers, they in fact used it with other non-native speakers and in a quite different way than it was taught.

In the case of relative pronouns (examples 1-3 above) and complementizers (examples 4-5), the results clearly demonstrated that the Swiss speakers had acquired the native patterns (outcome A). This was despite the fact that the full variability was not taught at school.

4. I think you'll understand why.
5. I think that you'll understand why. (adapted from Durham 2014:116)

In both cases, the Swiss speakers furthermore showed very low rates of instances where the features were used in a way that would not be acceptable for native speakers (for example, using *who* with inanimate objects). This demonstrates that in some cases ELF speakers are able to match the unconscious patterns found in native speakers. In terms of the forms that ELF can take, this underlines that even some supposedly complicated aspects may be transferred over to non-native speakers and maintained.

The variation found in the use of the additive adverbials *also*, *as well* and *too* on the other hand was purely constrained by the speakers' native language and none of the patterns found were comparable to the native speakers (examples 6-8) (outcome B).

6. They also have to go for two months.
7. They have to go for two months as well.
8. They have to go for two months too. (adapted from Durham 2014:135)

The data also showed high rates (20%) of the adverbials used in positions that would not be grammatical for native speakers. This feature underlines that in some cases variability will not be acquired and ELF forms will be markedly different from the ones of native speakers.

Finally, the variation between *will* and *going to* demonstrates a case of outcome C: where the variation is not acquired but where new patterns are visible (examples 9-10).

9. I'll be quiet.

10. I'm going to be quiet. (adapted from Durham 2014:68)

Here, the Swiss speakers did not have the variable patterns found in native speakers (Durham 2014, Tagliamonte, Durham and Smith 2014). In fact, their use of *going to* (and the shorter and more colloquial form *gonna*) was severely restricted, to the point that it could almost be claimed that it was not part of their repertoire. This is despite the fact that the use of *will* and *going to* is a topic covered in English language classes in Switzerland (and elsewhere). The *lingua franca* speakers had unconsciously discarded a second variant which was too similar, and restricted their use to a single form. However, the French, German and Italian groups patterned very similarly, leading to the conclusion that this might be a case of focussing or an instance of a *lingua franca* specific form.

8. DISCUSSION

What does it mean that features are not all learnt the same way and that sociolinguistic competence is matched in some cases and not others? In terms of language acquisition, it might signal to us which ones are most likely to be 'easy' to acquire and which might contain aspects which make them more transparent for speakers to match. In terms of the forms English may take in Switzerland and in other countries where it is used a *lingua franca*, it underlines that sociolinguistic competence is potentially a valuable place to look for innovation and focussing.

Using English as a *lingua franca* allows speakers to be perhaps less precise or at least less concerned with the more formal rules and structures which would come into play in a situation with native speakers or where the emphasis was on correctness. This merely serves to underline the fact that English as a *lingua franca* is not an institutionalised, formalized, 'stuffy' form of language use, but a more living and breathing one. The students in the study discussed above joke with each other in English, engage in word play and so on. All these are things which are not formally taught in class. It is this change, no doubt, which gives rise to the various patterns which are found in terms of acquisition of sociolinguistic competence. Some

features remain more closely tied to the way they were taught (overtly or not) and others less so.

When, as in Switzerland, English moves beyond the classroom into the workplace (and in some instances the home), the form that it takes cannot be but different from how it was taught: even if it is not necessarily possible to posit the existence of a single ‘Swiss English’ shared across the country, at an individual level it is not equivalent to the taught version. Some features will be lost completely (such as the variation between *as well, too* and *also*), others will be maintained (relative pronoun choice and complementizer deletion), and finally some will be transformed in new ways (such as variation in the future tense). In the examples presented above, frequency and lexical effects are very likely to play a role in which outcome is found: with items that are both frequent and which have a restricted set of lexical variants (or occur with a restricted set of lexical items) are more likely to be acquired in a way that matches native speakers. Other features, instead, are more likely to follow their own paths: the formal variant might be the main one used in some cases, while the informal one might be chosen in others. It is difficult to predict which outcome will be found *a priori* and thus underlines the importance of considering a range to get a better idea of the overall situation. The results show that some features related to sociolinguistic competence are fully acquired, while others are not so. Because the variants of the features examined are all generally acceptable (except in terms of positioning in sentence for the additive adverbials), this is only visible when looking beyond the surface at the underlying patterns. Without establishing whether the unconscious patterns are matched, it is not possible to know whether the ELF speakers are modifying the patterns in their own way.

9. CONCLUSION

This paper has shown how even features which on the surface seem to be used natively may demonstrate underlying differences and may help pinpoint which features are restricted to a specific country or context. Conversely, some features can be shown to be used very similarly to native speakers even in cases where the teaching of the variation is not overt. This underlines that non-native speakers are able to fully match native speaker patterns and acquire sociolinguistic competence in some cases despite the fact that their main use of English is not with native speakers. Overall, these findings demonstrate the importance of considering such features when examining what forms ELF may take in different countries as they can show what is different and what is similar beneath the surface. To fully understand how ELF is developing worldwide, we need to look both at what is immediately visible and what is less so.

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ALL GOOD THINGS COME IN THREES: EARLY ENGLISH LEARNING, CLIL AND MOTIVATION IN SWITZERLAND

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Abstract

In this study, I examine the strength of the association between L3 English performance and starting age, on the one hand, and motivation and different types of provision of foreign language teaching, on the other, in Swiss learners of EFL with a long learning experience (between 6–11 years). Multilevel analyses were performed to investigate whether early starters in instructional settings achieve the same kind of long-term advantage as late starters and to examine how motivation and type of instruction (regular EFL instruction vs. Content and Language Integrated Learning or CLIL) factor into this process. Results show that starting age alone does not seem to be the distinguishing variable and that type of instruction and, above all, motivation are stronger predictors of L3 proficiency than starting age. Furthermore, qualitative analyses reveal a bi-directional causal link between CLIL and motivation and CLIL and learner outcomes. The study thus complements previous research by offering a critical empirical examination of age effects as well as CLIL outcomes and by investigating second-order interactions of individual difference variables and linguistic and contextual variables, which are still under-researched both in educational psychology and the study of second language acquisition.

Key-words: age factor in SLA, foreign language learning, CLIL, immersion, motivation

1. INTRODUCTION

Education policy makers in many European countries tend to assume that age of instruction onset (AO) is the most important and robust predictor of success in foreign language learning in an instructional setting, “irrespective of what research findings suggest” (Mihaljević Djigunović, 2014: 420).¹ However, recent measures that have been implemented in Switzerland to improve students’ communicative skills and intercultural competence, such as the early teaching of English – learning English as a foreign language (EFL) starts as early as the age of eight or nine now in 15 out of 26 cantons in Switzerland (EDK 2014) – have

¹ To give an example for this line of argumentation: in 2003, the Bildungsrat of the Canton Zurich explained that early English was introduced because “younger learners are capable of acquiring and storing a language unconsciously, provided they are exposed to regular and rich input. Language skills that are stored in this manner will automatically be available to the learners later in life” (Bildungsratsbeschluss 18/3/2003, my translation). For a recent publication on language policy documents in Europe, the interested reader is referred to Nikolov and Mihaljevic Djigunovic (2011).

yielded rather disappointing first results, and it has become clear that the early teaching of English may not – cannot – be the sole course of action to improve students' English language competence. At this time it is particularly important to revisit linguistic and affective characteristics of early starters vs. late starters in various types of foreign language (FL) programs in Switzerland, as educational authorities in Europe have recently brought forward the starting age of language instruction in elementary schools, mainly as a result of the “younger-is-better” view and the steady growth of English as a *lingua franca*, although other reasons are also mentioned in official Swiss language policy documents, such as the political and cultural significance of the four national languages (German, French, Italian, Rhaeto-Romanic) on a national level, later learned languages (particularly French, see Haenni Hoti et al., 2011), the multilingualism requirement/goal in Europe, parental encouragement, globalization, integration and the world-wide network, and favorable attitudes to other languages, people, and cultures (see EDK 2014, 2015; Eurobarometer 2006; European Commission 1995). This has led to small amounts of second language (L2) instruction stretched over a rather long period of time, which may have an impact on students' motivation, especially in the long term (Lasagabaster, 2011: 13).

Around the same time as the Swiss Conference of Education Directors decided to lower the starting age of English instruction, they also started to implement Content and Language Integrated Learning programs, generally known as CLIL, in which three content subjects (such as mathematics or biology) are taught through the FL.² The introduction of CLIL in Switzerland reflected a general need in Europe to provide students with enhanced opportunities in school to acquire competence in additional languages (see Marsh, 2002). Since then, the very positive associations of CLIL (e.g. its perceived success and effectiveness) have attracted researchers, administrators, teacher educators, and teachers, particularly those in the field of English as an L2/FL (Cenoz, Genesee & Gorter, 2014: 247). Anton Näf, Emeritus Professor at the University of Neuchâtel, even went as far as to call CLIL programs in Switzerland “the egg of Columbus” (*Tages-Anzeiger* 27/1/2014) due to its potential to improve students' FL skills.

It is one of the main goals of this study to offer a critical empirical examination of age effects in interaction with CLIL in state educational institutions in order to better identify the strengths and weaknesses of different FL programs. However, any study of the outcomes of CLIL has to take into account one of the most crucial factors interacting with type of instruction, namely motivation, since in many European countries, CLIL programs are often not available to all students, which leads to a selection of students for these programs “who

² See below for a more detailed definition of CLIL.

will be academically motivated to succeed in the FL, as in other subjects” (Bruton, 2011: 524). Examining the impact of starting age, type of instruction and motivation in the same study may help us understand the relative importance of each of these factors for language use, an insight that has been impossible to gain in previous studies.

I would like to point out that due to the scope of this paper and the focus of this special issue, it was not possible to consider English in the broader multilingual context (e.g. in relation to French as an additional foreign language). The interested reader is referred to Pfenninger and Singleton (in prep) and Pfenninger and Singleton (submitted), where we analyze in detail the causes of and constraints on crosslinguistic influences in the Zurich system, including the French-English interaction and the socio-affective dimension (motivation, attitudes, awareness, anxiety, and learning strategies).

2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.1 AGE-BY-TREATMENT INTERACTION RESEARCH

Age-by-treatment interaction research has traditionally shown that different learning processes are at work at different ages, which explains the need for different “treatment”, both in the broad sense (exposure in a naturalistic setting vs. instruction in a classroom) and in the narrow sense (e.g. meaning-focused vs. form-focused instruction) (see DeKeyser, 2012). In this section, I will first focus on the macro level, that is, age * treatment (context) interaction³, followed by a discussion of the micro level, i.e. age * (instructional) treatment interaction.

Numerous classroom studies in Europe and indeed across the world (see, e.g., Al-Thubaiti, 2010 for Saudi Arabia; Muñoz, 2006, 2011 for the Basque Country; Larson-Hall, 2008 for Japan; Myles & Mitchell, 2012 for GB; Unsworth, de Bot, Persson & Prins, 2012 for the Netherlands, just to name a few) have found that there are no correlations between starting age and FL language outcomes in formal instructional settings, in contrast to the situation in naturalistic settings (for a recent review, see DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005). The main goals of research in FL learning settings have been to examine FL outcomes as a function of the starting age, size and characteristics of older learners’ advantage for different language dimensions and after different amounts of exposure, and, more recently, the interplay of the age factor with social, affective and personal variables. Contextual factors, such as amounts and intensity of input (see, e.g., the collection in Muñoz, 2012a), high-quality input (e.g. Winitz, Gillespie & Starcev, 1995; Flege & Liu, 2001), range of contexts

³ “*” indicates interaction.

of L2 use (e.g. Moyer, 2004), and co-habitation with native speakers (e.g. Muñoz & Singleton, 2007; Kinsella & Singleton, 2014), have been shown to have a significant impact on learners' attainment (for a review see Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). In the following I will focus on amount and intensity of input, i.e. different types of provision of FL teaching in a classroom, notably CLIL vs. regular EFL instruction.

Launched in Europe in the 1990s by "a group of experts from different backgrounds" (Cenoz et al., 2014: 243), CLIL is "a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010: 1; see Cenoz et al. 2013 for a description of the wide range of educational CLIL practices). The dual role of language and content thus means that proficiency is to be developed in both the non-language subject and the language in which it is taught (Lasagabaster, 2011) – although it is notoriously difficult to achieve a strict balance of language and content, which leads to "a lack of cohesion around CLIL pedagogies" (Coyle, 2008: 101; see also Cenoz et al., 2014; Mehisto, 2008; Pérez-Vidal & Juan-Garau, 2010). Since the definition of CLIL now also includes reference to partial immersion (Cenoz et al., 2014: 246; Maillat, 2010; see Pérez-Cañado, 2012, for an opposing view), the notion of CLIL will be used in the following as a cover term for both CLIL and immersion⁴.

A considerable amount of CLIL research has been carried out in intensive primary and secondary school classes in the last twenty years, and various benefits of CLIL have been pointed out, such as the following:

- (1) Due to the higher amount and intensity of exposure to the FL, on the one hand, and the opportunities for engaging in authentic and meaningful interaction in real-life contexts, on the other, immersion students have traditionally been found to be highly successful in comparison with students who have received regular FL instruction, particularly with respect to receptive skills (listening and reading), oral fluency, syntactic complexity, lexical range and confidence/risk-taking in the target language (e.g., Collins & White, 2011, 2012; Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Spada & Lightbown, 1989; Pfenninger, 2014; Ruiz de Zarobe & Jiménez Catalán, 2009; Serrano & Muñoz, 2007);
- (2) CLIL students have been reported to demonstrate better verbal and non-verbal communication skills, cognitive skills and divergent thinking than their non-CLIL counterparts (Vesterbacka, 1991);

⁴ Note that 'immersion' is the term more commonly used in the Swiss context for what is done at grammar schools, while the label 'CLIL' dominates in state secondary schools.

- (3) The above benefits have emerged both when exposure has been concentrated and when it has been distributed across time in short intensive experiences (e.g., Collins & White, 2011, 2012);
- (4) CLIL is said to be able to minimize the role that individual differences, such as language learning aptitude, may play in more limited exposure situations (e.g., Collins & White, 2011, 2012);
- (5) CLIL increases exposure to the target language without taking up more time in an already crowded school timetable (e.g., Lasagabaster, 2011);
- (6) Content knowledge appears to remain on a par with that learned through the L1 (e.g., Admiraal, Westhoff & de Bot, 2006; see also Cummins, 1995; Genesee, 1987, 2004);
- (7) L1 skills are very similar both in CLIL classes and in non-CLIL classes (e.g., Seikkula-Leino, 2007; Vesterbacka, 1991);
- (8) Due to the higher exposure to the FL than in regular programs, CLIL programs are known to foster implicit learning,⁵ which has been identified as a highly effective way of learning (Coyle, 2008; de Graaff & Housen, 2009; DeKeyser, 2000; Hulstijn, 2002);
- (9) Related to point (8), CLIL is age-appropriate in elementary schools, since younger children (e.g. in an early FL program) cannot attend to formal, explicit L2 instruction to the same extent as older children as prepubertal learning is less reliant on analytic ability (e.g., N. Ellis, 2002).

Of course there are numerous well-known issues with the implementation of CLIL in the classroom, particularly with implicit learning in connection with maturational effects, but I do not wish to go very deeply into this here (the interested reader is referred to Pfenninger, 2011, 2014; Pfenninger & Singleton, in prep.). The important point here is that AO-treatment interaction research shows more than the importance of starting age or a particular treatment. It can show why a treatment works best (or more precisely why sometimes it does and

⁵ According to R. Ellis (2005) implicit knowledge “is procedural, is held unconsciously, and can be verbalized only if it is made explicit. It is accessed rapidly and easily and thus is available for use in rapid, fluent communication” (p. 214). By contrast, explicit knowledge “is conscious and declarative and can be verbalized. It is typically accessed through controlled processing when learners experience some kind of linguistic difficulty in the use of the second language” (p. 214).

sometimes doesn't): due to the learning processes it involves, the treatment works well only with certain AO groups.

2.2. AGE * (INSTRUCTIONAL) TREATMENT * MOTIVATION INTERACTION

From the above discussion it has become clear that in order to have valid comparisons of the effect on learner outcomes in CLIL vs. non-CLIL classes, it is inevitable either to control for the motivational levels of the students or, preferably, to use motivation as yet another fixed effect in the statistical model. The theoretical framework for motivation in this study is based on the L2 Motivational Self System proposed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009), which hypothesizes that students' motivated learning behavior will be largely affected by three variables. The Ideal L2 Self, the person the learner wants to become, incorporates "traditional integrative and internalised instrumental motives". The Ought-to L2 Self, the side which wants to avoid punishment and meet expectations, incorporates "more extrinsic (i.e. less internalised) types of instrumental motives" (Dörnyei, 2009: 9).⁶ A third component, L2 Learning Experience, covers the more immediate learning situation important to any study of L2 motivation in a classroom context (syllabus, teacher, etc.). Instrumentality is thus partly related to the Ideal L2 Self, particularly instrumentality with a promotion focus (Dörnyei, 2005: 30). Other forms of instrumentality (e.g. instrumentality with a prevention focus) may be more associated with the Ought-to L2 Self, the image of oneself which avoids punishment, i.e. external regulation.

As Dörnyei and Chan (2013: 439) point out, numerous studies in recent decades have confirmed the overall explanatory power of the L2 Motivational Self System, with the Ideal L2 Self in particular seen as a strong predictor of various criterion measures related to language learning, thus playing a substantive role in determining motivated behavior. For instance, research by Csizér and Lukács (2010) confirmed the seminal role of Dörnyei's conception of the Ideal L2 Self in predicting motivated learning behavior, and the paramount influence of the Ideal L2 Self on motivation. By contrast, it has often been suggested that the Ought-to L2 Self appears to have no significant impact on results (e.g. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005: 29). However, Csizér and Lukács (2010: 12) argue that further research on, and reformulation of, the concept of the Ought-to L2 Self may clarify this aspect of the L2 Motivational Self System. What is more, age plays a role in the formation of selves: Kormos and Csizér (2008) found that secondary school students in Hungary scored lower values for the Ideal L2 Self than university students or adult workers, speculating that "students' self-

⁶ Note that it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the problems surrounding conceptualizations of the self (see Mercer & Williams, 2014).

image is relatively stable, and because they have to acquire the L2 in adulthood, the L2 self is also under transformation at this stage” (2008: 346).

3. THIS STUDY

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND VARIABLES

On the basis of what has been discussed so far, the present study aims to enrich our knowledge of the effects of input in long-term FL learning by exploring which of the three predictors (starting age, type of instruction, motivation) has a stronger predictive power. The following summarizes the main research question:

- (1) What is the strength of the association between L3 performance and starting age, on the one hand, and type of instruction and motivation, on the other, in learners with a long learning experience (between 6–11 years)?

Individual differences factors in this study are AO and motivation. The context-level factor, CLIL, is hypothesized to influence individual EFL proficiency through its mediating effect on the association between individual differences factors and L2 proficiency. Although I hypothesize motivation and CLIL to have a positive effect and starting age to have a neutral effect on EFL proficiency at both the individual and contextual levels, how and to what extent individual- and contextual-level factors may interact with each other are open empirical questions.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS: NESTING STRUCTURE

A total of 200 participants (89 males and 111 females) were clustered in 12 classes in five schools, mostly consisting of 10–20 learners, all of whom had similar characteristics: they were in grade 12 English classes in academically oriented secondary school, they were between 17 and 20 years old (mean 18;9), they came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and did not take any private classes of English outside school.⁷ Through this clustering, participants were streamed into two different instruction types: on the one hand, there were students who were enrolled in CLIL programs (100 students in six classes) and, on

⁷ The participants were drawn from a larger sample of intermediate/advanced learners of English (see Pfenninger & Singleton, in prep). Note that in this project an additional control group of 100 early starters in grade 7 (age 13) was recruited in 2014 in order to be able to obtain a realistic picture of the benefits of early English programs. These students belong to the fifth cohort of early English learners in the canton of Zurich.

the other, students who followed an EFL approach and who only had exposure to EFL in the traditional way (100 students in six classes). As mentioned above, students in CLIL classes received additional exposure to the foreign language: English classes as well as the school subject taught in English. Furthermore, they were divided into four groups according to age of onset and learning constellation in primary and secondary school: 50 of the participants were early starters who attended an immersion (CLIL) program in secondary school (EARLY CLIL), 50 had followed the same elementary school program but then received regular EFL instruction after elementary school (EARLY NON-CLIL), 50 were late starters who began learning English immersively in secondary school (LATE CLIL), while the other 50 attended a regular EFL program (LATE NON-CLIL). Note that the early starters (EARLY CLIL and EARLY NON-CLIL) and the late starters (LATE CLIL and LATE NON-CLIL) had dissimilar amounts of exposure: due to their earlier start, the EARLY CLIL and EARLY NON-CLIL had had access to greater instruction time. By the end of secondary school, the EARLY CLIL group spent an average of 1,770 hours learning English, followed by the LATE CLIL with 1,330 hours, the EARLY NON-CLIL with 1,170 hours, and the LATE NON-CLIL with 730 hours. Other recent studies of maturational effects in a classroom have used shorter periods (from 600 to 800 hours) in their longest-term comparisons (e.g., García Mayo & García Lecumberri, 2003; Larson-Hall, 2008; Muñoz, 2006). However, the early starters were not mixed in with late starters in the same class. A biodata questionnaire was administered to collect biographical data and quantifiable information concerning their language learning experience (e.g., starting age, number of instructional hours in school, frequency of contact with L2 speakers, time spent abroad).

The school track under investigation here, which I refer to as ‘academically oriented secondary school’, represents the main – but not the only – university entry pathway. It is an elite and selective publicly funded school, representing one of three main secondary school tracks (the highest educational level). In the canton of Zurich, admission is based on students’ average grades and an entrance examination. The number of those taking the matura or maturité exam (i.e. the final graduation exam) has increased in recent years. Between 1986 and 2013 the percentage awarded this certificate almost doubled to 20 percent (<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/themen/15/01/pan.html> on 12/7/2015). There are three main reasons why it was decided to assess the development of EFL skills of this group of learners:

- (1) This particular secondary school track is roughly equivalent to grammar schools, Baccalaureate schools and high schools in other countries in terms of length of

instruction (six years until graduation), institutional design (e.g. number and kinds of compulsory subjects, assessment of students, final certificate) and purpose (e.g. they do not lead to professional qualifications, but prepare students for tertiary level education programs). This is important for comparisons with related previous work in Europe and elsewhere.

- (2) Lower secondary levels, which only take three years, are not ideal to test for *long-term* effects of an early foreign language program. In age-related research, it is one of the most basic and most important tasks to identify predictors of short-term AND long-term FL attainment. Furthermore, it has been previously suggested that it takes a substantial accumulation of input to yield manifestations of advantages of an early start (e.g., Larson-Hall, 2008; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011; Singleton, 1995a, 1995b, 2005).
- (3) Assessing “good and motivated” learners⁸, who (ideally!) involve themselves in the language-learning process and take into account the demands that FL learning imposes, is not considered a limitation in this kind of study: strong learners can provide key data on the effectiveness of a new FL program and yield revealing results in search of influential factors in the process of FL learning (see, e.g., Muñoz, 2014). The insights thus gained can then also help learners who are not obtaining such good results.

It goes without saying that the complexity of the Swiss educational system makes generalizations difficult; this, however, is a general problem in studies of foreign language learning, which we discuss in detail in Pfenninger and Singleton (forthcoming) and Pfenninger and Singleton (in prep.).

It is also important to bear in mind that in Switzerland, a distinction is made between CLIL and immersion: while activities are undertaken in English in the CLIL classroom, these activities relate to the learning of the second language. As such, the CLIL program in Swiss primary schools is similar to the “intensive English programs” in Canada (see, e.g., Netten & German, 2004), albeit with considerably fewer hours of instruction a week (two 45-minute lessons per week). The emphasis is placed on L2 sensitization, oral fluency, comprehension, cultural awareness, vocabulary and formulaic language. However, the strong focus on meaning in comprehensible input and the communication of authentic messages resemble the

⁸ Note that our studies show that, naturally, we also find a clear discrepancy between low-proficiency and high-proficiency FL learners as well as more motivated and less motivated students in this population.

main goal of immersion programs. By contrast, the CLIL program that Swiss students later attend in secondary school is a partial immersion program that consists of three content subjects (e.g. mathematics, biology and history) taught through the FL (L3 English) in order to maximize the quantity of comprehensible input and purposeful use of English, in line with Swain's (1985) Output Hypothesis and Long's (1981) Interaction Hypothesis. Additionally, English is taught formally as a separate school subject. Thus, learners experience a combination of formal and informal learning, which offers them what seems to be an ideal opportunity to learn an FL in a classroom: a combination of explicit learning, or "focus on forms", and implicit learning, or "focus on meaning", to use Long and Robinson's terms (1998). Even though in many Swiss schools a student's average school grade functions as a criterion in deciding who can join the program and who cannot, the immersion students in this study did not have significantly better grades in English before they entered the program. This ensures to a certain extent that the results will not be contaminated by the fact that the EARLY CLIL and LATE CLIL groups are more proficient than the EARLY NON-CLIL and LATE NON-CLIL groups to start with.

Finally, it is important to mention that English is considered an L3 here due to the special linguistic landscape in Switzerland: while Swiss German is a High Alemannic variety of German, it is hardly understandable to someone who knows only Standard German, as the two languages differ to some extent in lexicon, phonology and syntax (for a discussion of this, see e.g., Berthele, 2010). According to Lüdi (2007: 161), most Swiss citizens are monolingual during their childhood, but they usually become bilingual in the early primary grades at the latest when they receive formal literacy training in L2 German from 1st grade on (age 7). This means that German-speaking Swiss children have to learn to read, write, and use a relatively unknown language all at once.

3.3 MEASURES

Due to the fuzziness of the Ideal L2 Self/Ought-to L2 Self binary in the L2 Motivational Self System proposed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009) as well as the Integrativeness/Instrumentality binary in Gardner's Socio-Educational Model of Language Learning (e.g. Gardner, 2008; Gardner & Lambert, 1959), which emerged in a language experience essay written by the 200 participants (see Pfenninger & Singleton, in prep., for a detailed description of this task), it was decided in this study to make a distinction between learners' *Future selves* and their *Present selves*, rather than between L2 Self, Integrativeness and Instrumentality. *Future selves* encompasses students' wish to become similar to native speakers of English as well as the usefulness of the L2 skills learned in the future. *Present selves* refers to the current attitudes learners display toward EFL and the L2 community and their reactions to a world in

which English plays a predominant role, as well as the extent to which the learners want to be involved in cross-cultural contact situations and travel to English-speaking countries. This dimension also includes those factors of external regulation which lead to action in order to avoid punishment or bad grades or assuage one's guilty conscience. Participants completed a Likert-type questionnaire that consisted of 15 items, which comprised five choices (totally disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, totally agree) for each of the five statements. The 15 items were taken from the motivation questionnaire of a large-scale study (see Pfenninger & Singleton, forthcoming). A third of the statements were formulated in the negative, and the resultant list was translated into German and randomized. Table 1 shows the Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for the two multi-item scales of the present study. All of the reliability coefficients are above the recommended .70 threshold.

Table 1. Information on the multi-item scales

Variables	No. of items	Cronbach's alpha	Sample item
Future selves	8	.79	Whenever I think of the future, I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.
Present selves	7	.75	As a language, I don't like English.

Language data were collected by means of a test battery that included a composition, a grammaticality judgment task,⁹ a vocabulary size test (Academic sections in Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham's (2001) Versions A and B of Nation's Vocabulary Levels Test), the Productive Vocabulary Size Test by Laufer and Nation (1999), and a listening comprehension task (see Pfenninger, 2014). The tasks had been aligned against Level B2/C1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). The grammaticality judgment task included morphosyntactic structures that have been found to be particularly age-sensitive, such as articles and inflections, as well as structures that are not particularly age-sensitive, for instance word order and *do*-support (see, e.g., McDonald, 2006).

⁹ The reliability coefficient (KR-20) obtained was .90 for grammatical items and .95 for ungrammatical items.

3.4 METHOD

I used R (R Development Core Team 2014) and *lme4* (Bates, Maechler & Bolker, 2008) to perform a linear mixed effects analysis (also called multi-level analysis) of the relationship between AO, CLIL and the L2 Self (see Pfenninger & Singleton, forthcoming, for a discussion of the benefits of such models). As fixed effects, I entered AO, type of instruction, and motivation into the model. Note that when including continuous predictors in a mixed-effect model such as motivation, it is often useful to center each predictor around its mean value (Cunnings, 2012). This involves subtracting from each individual value of a predictor the predictor's overall mean, and is done to help reduce collinearity within the model (e.g. between main effects and interactions; see Jaeger, 2010). The final models had random effects (intercepts) to account for class-to-class and school-to-school differences that induce correlation among scores for students within a school and within a class. In other words, the hierarchical structure of the data on all skills tested consisted of three levels: student (level 1), class (level 2), and school (level 3). The scores on the tests were added to the model at the student level. There were significant random school and class effects for all dependent variables. Likelihood ratio tests showed that random slope models (subject-specific slopes for the fixed effect AO) were not necessary for any dependent measure, so I constructed random intercept models. None of the interactions included (age * motivation; age * instruction; instruction * motivation) provided any better fit, except for one area (productive vocabulary, see below). For the listening comprehension task, the grammaticality judgment task, the productive vocabulary and receptive vocabulary tasks, I added random intercepts for subjects and items in order to account for the fact that some participants may generally have attained higher scores in this particular task than others, and some items may generally have yielded lower scores than others (see Cunnings, 2012: 374).

Visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious deviations from homoscedasticity or normality. *P*-values were obtained by likelihood ratio tests of the full model with the effect in question against the model without the effect in question. All models reported were fitted using Laplace estimation with the R software. Also, all models were first evaluated with likelihood ratio tests (test model vs. null model with only the control variables). If the full model vs. null model comparison reached significance, I present *p*-values based on likelihood ratio tests. Given the lack of degrees of freedom with mixed models, I refrain from reporting df.

4. RESULTS

Table 2 presents the mean scores, standard deviations and intergroup differences for the seven language measures and the motivation measure:

Table 2. Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations)

	EARLY CLIL (n=50)	EARLY NON-CLIL (n=50)	LATE CLIL (n=50)	LATE NON-CLIL (n=50)
LC	18.56 (1.81)	12.7 (3.16)	15.86 (3.16)	12.4 (3.68)
PV	35.52 (7.06)	24.98 (7.16)	35.37 (7.64)	25.65 (7.52)
RV	56.42 (5.27)	49.85 (6.15)	55.44 (6.20)	48.84 (7.84)
W/TU	17.70 (3.43)	14.25 (2.32)	17.10 (4.47)	13.35 (2.57)
CL/TU	1.76 (0.37)	1.58 (0.22)	1.79 (0.30)	1.57 (0.25)
ERR/TU	0.51 (0.29)	0.53 (0.34)	0.50 (0.43)	0.54 (0.30)
GJT	42.83 (2.07)	42.84 (2.84)	42.92 (2.41)	43.10 (2.5)
Motivation (L2 Self)	4.17 (0.63)	3.79 (0.72)	4.18 (0.68)	3.76 (0.66)

Note. LC = listening comprehension; PV = productive vocabulary; RV = receptive vocabulary; W/TU = written fluency: words per T-unit; CL/TU = written syntactic complexity: clauses per T-unit; ERR/TU = written accuracy: morphosyntactic errors per T-unit; GJT = grammaticality judgment task

To answer the research question regarding the strength of the association between English proficiency with starting age, on the one hand, and with type of instruction and motivation, on the other, mixed linear regression models with the test scores as dependent variables were fitted. A summary of all models is presented in Tables 3 and 4:

Table 3. Multilevel regression analyses for the investigated dependent variables (fixed effect estimates)

Fixed effect: AO				
	Coefficient β	Standard error	χ^2	p
LC	-1.25	0.74	3.20	.074
PV	-0.09	1.80	0.02	.879
RV	2.08	1.59	1.26	.261
W/TU	-1.82	2.31	4.87	.199
CL/TU	0.08	0.07	0.78	.379
ERR/TU	0.00	0.05	0.02	.883
GJT	0.53	0.57	0.79	.373

Fixed effect: Instruction				
	Coefficient β	Standard error	χ^2	p
LC	-6.46	2.37	17.43	<.0001**
PV	-5.76	5.89	12.63	<.0001**
RV	-10.32	5.40	14.03	<.0001**
W/TU	-0.63	2.83	10.96	<.0001**
CL/TU	-0.21	0.25	8.13	.004**
ERR/TU	0.21	0.30	0.63	.732
GJT	0.27	2.03	1.62	.203

Fixed effect: Motivation				
	Coefficient β	Standard error	χ^2	p
LC	1.54	0.41	51.43	<.0001**
PV	6.17	1.02	51.03	<.0001**
RV	0.59	0.93	14.91	<.0001**
W/TU	0.96	0.49	11.75	<.0001**
CL/TU	-0.04	0.04	0.57	.449
ERR/TU	0.03	0.05	5.58	.883
GJT	0.42	0.35	20.18	<.0001**

*Statistically significant at $\alpha < .05$; **Statistically significant at $\alpha < .01$

Note. LC = listening comprehension; PV = productive vocabulary; RV = receptive vocabulary; W/TU = written fluency: words per T-unit; CL/TU = written syntactic complexity: clauses per T-unit; ERR/TU = written accuracy: morphosyntactic errors per T-unit; GJT = grammaticality judgment task.

Table 4. Interaction between fixed effects

AO * Instruction				
	Coefficient β	Standard error	χ^2	p
LC	2.93	0.93	9.54	.002**
PV	1.02	2.67	0.00	.947
RV	2.48	0.65	1.29	.256
W/TU	0.60	0.34	1.57	.210
CL/TU	0.04	0.10	0.23	.640
ERR/TU	0.03	0.11	0.12	.730
GJT	0.86	0.76	1.06	.304

AO * Motivation				
	Coefficient β	Standard error	χ^2	p
LC	-0.07	0.57	0.01	.930
PV	0.87	1.40	0.77	.380
RV	2.46	1.27	3.63	.067
W/TU	0.41	0.67	0.45	.503
CL/TU	0.07	0.06	1.43	0.23
ERR/TU	0.12	0.07	2.81	.094
GJT	0.46	0.48	1.07	.301

Instruction * Motivation				
	Coefficient β	Standard error	χ^2	p
LC	0.62	0.57	1.36	.244
PV	-3.27	1.41	4.20	.040*
RV	1.16	1.30	0.83	.361
W/TU	-0.66	0.69	0.81	.367
CL/TU	0.01	0.06	0.03	.860
ERR/TU	-0.04	0.07	0.47	.491
GJT	0.06	0.49	0.03	.862

*Statistically significant at $\alpha < .05$; **Statistically significant at $\alpha < .01$

Note. LC = listening comprehension; PV = productive vocabulary; RV = receptive vocabulary; W/TU = written fluency: words per T-unit; CL/TU = written syntactic complexity: clauses per T-unit; ERR/TU = written accuracy: morphosyntactic errors per T-unit; GJT = grammaticality judgment task.

It is clear from Table 3 that there were no age effects for any of the dependent variables, and AO did not interact with type of instruction or motivation for any of the seven measures, with one exception: there was a significant interaction between AO and type of instruction for listening comprehension, which reflects the advantage of the EARLY CLIL group over all the other groups, as illustrated in Figure 1:

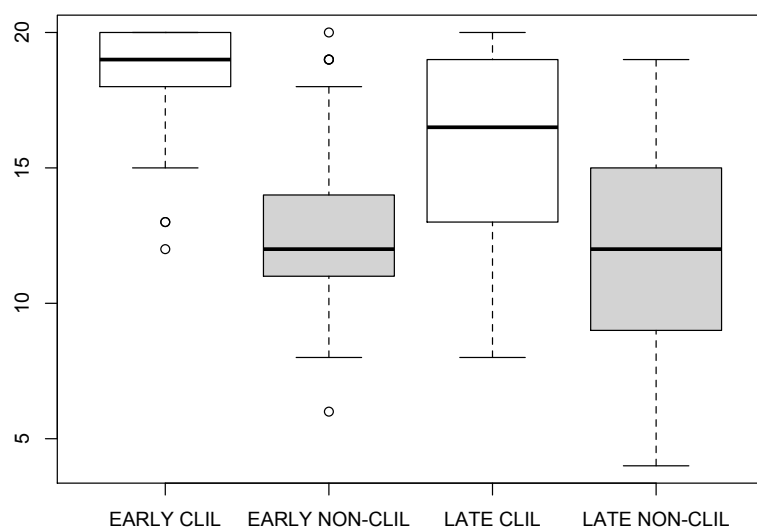


Figure 1. Listening scores (LC) by group (actual data points are overlaid on the boxplot and median lines are in bold).

The early starters in the immersion program (EARLY CLIL) significantly outperformed all the other groups, including the late starters in the same program (LATE CLIL). Furthermore, older starters did not show greater variation in their L2 performance, as Table 2 above shows (see also Pfenninger 2011, 2014).

CLIL significantly affected five out of seven dependent variables: listening comprehension (increasing it by about 6.5 ± 2.4 points on a 20-point scale), productive vocabulary (raising it by about 5.8 ± 5.89 points on the 54-point scale), receptive vocabulary (increasing it by 10.32 ± 5.40 points on the 60-point scale), fluency (increasing it by 0.63 ± 2.83 words per T-unit), and complexity (enhancing it by 0.21 ± 0.25 per T-unit). Interestingly, both early starters and late starters benefited from immersion with respect to these measures. Accuracy as measured by errors/T-unit and grammaticality judgments was not affected by CLIL (see also Pfenninger, 2014). In fact, accuracy was not affected by either AO, type of instruction or motivation. All four groups had similar scores despite their dissimilar profiles, as Figure 2 shows for productive accuracy:

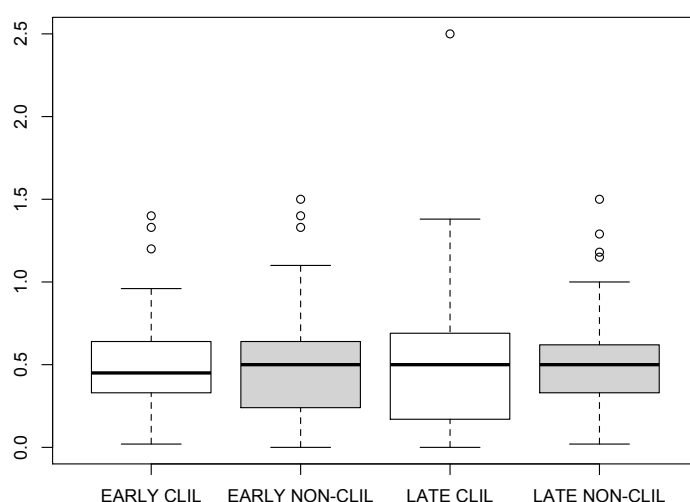


Figure 2. Productive accuracy scores (ERR/TU)

Motivation also affected five out of seven dependent variables: listening comprehension (improving it by 1.54 ± 0.41 points on a 20-point scale), productive and receptive vocabulary (increasing them by 6.17 ± 1.02 points and 0.54 ± 0.93 points, respectively), fluency (improving it by 0.96 ± 0.49 words per T-unit), and grammaticality judgments (improving them by 0.42 ± 0.35 points), but it did not have an effect on complexity and accuracy. Interestingly, there was no interaction between motivation and AO or motivation and type of instruction, which indicates that irrespective of starting age or type of instruction received, students with a higher motivation level outperformed less motivated students. The only interaction between motivation and type of instruction was found in the area of productive vocabulary, which was due to the CLIL students' higher motivation.

In order to calculate the effects of AO and type of instruction on motivation, a mixed model was fitted with AO and type of instruction as fixed effects, and school and class as random effects (intercepts). The results showed that whereas AO did not affect motivation ($\chi^2(1)=0.00$, $p=0.949$), instruction type (that is, CLIL in secondary school) had a significant impact ($\chi^2(1)=12.77$, $p=0.0004$), enhancing motivation by about 0.40 ± 0.10 points on a 5-point scale. Figure 4 illustrates the higher motivation of the CLIL students:

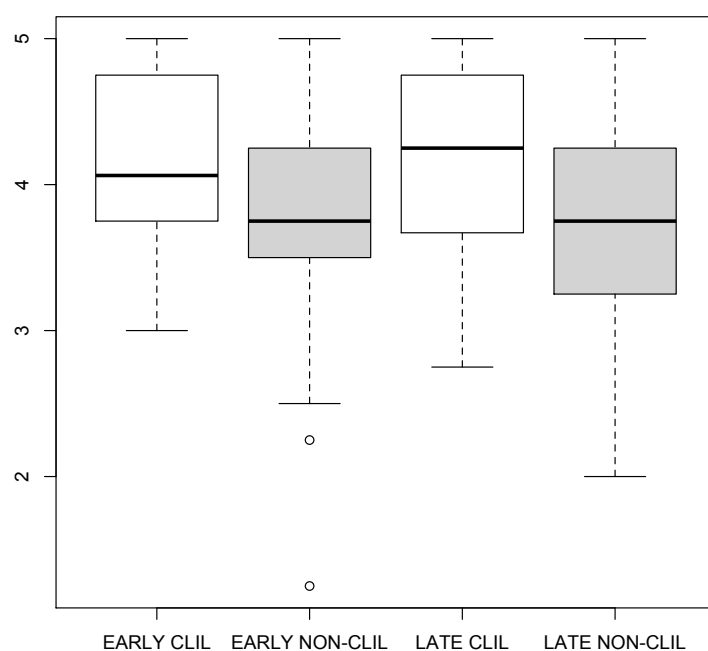


Figure 3. Motivation by group

Thus, with respect to the second variable under investigation, motivation, the findings suggest the following: the CLIL students were more motivated than their non-CLIL counterparts; however, generally speaking, students with greater motivation performed better on the English tests, irrespective of the type of instruction and AO; as for FL competence, CLIL had more beneficial effects than regular EFL instruction.

5. DISCUSSION

The current study has found that late-starting groups (LATE CLIL and LATE NON-CLIL) were able to catch up with the EARLY NON-CLIL group, which supports the hypothesis that the initial fast rate of FL learning of older learners may last for several years in an input-impooverished environment (Larson-Hall, 2008; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011; Singleton, 1995a, 1995b, 2005). Even though early learners (such as the EARLY CLIL and the EARLY NON-CLIL in this study) may in theory have greater potential than late starters due to their earlier AO and the larger amount of cumulative input, this does not translate into better performance unless formal instruction in English in secondary school is supported by late immersion, as we have seen in

the strong performance of the EARLY CLIL with respect to listening skills (see also Cenoz & Jessner, 2009).

Probably more surprising than the EARLY CLIL students outperforming students in non-CLIL programs (EARLY NON-CLIL and LATE NON-CLIL) is the finding that the LATE CLIL group had made significant progress in a variety of skill areas, to the extent that they were able to catch up to the performance of the EARLY CLIL group. Thus, it seems to be access to late CLIL, regardless of early instruction, that makes the difference here. The oral-based, communicative pedagogical approach used in CLIL programs in secondary school could explain the significant differences in productive and receptive vocabulary knowledge, as well as written complexity and fluency between the students who were immersively educated in secondary school (EARLY CLIL and LATE CLIL) and the traditionally instructed participants (EARLY NON-CLIL and LATE NON-CLIL). The fact that CLIL seems to bear rich fruits with respect to vocabulary has been well documented in the literature (see literature review above). The overall success of the LATE CLIL group in these various skills is yet another indicator that instruction seems capable of overriding the age factor in a classroom setting.

The findings also confirm previous studies (e.g., Collins et al., 2012; Genesee, 1987, 2004; Pica, 2011; Spada & Lightbown, 1989) that found that (morphosyntactic) accuracy remains challenging for CLIL students. They also corroborate the positive effects of form-focused instruction on acquisition, that is, the effectiveness of explicit instruction on students' acquisition and use of specific morphosyntactic features of English. The lack of significant differences between all groups in relation to morphosyntactic accuracy might be due to the fact that the four groups practiced English grammar to the same extent. Since all the participants attended formal, explicit EFL instruction, they were required to read and write in English equally often and paid great attention to accuracy.

With respect to motivation, the findings confirm previous CLIL research (e.g. Lasagabaster, 2011) suggesting that learning in the FL increases motivation. The novel aspect of this study is that CLIL and motivation had a similar effect on language competence, *without* interaction between them. Finally, the results do not confirm previous findings that the more years students spend studying a subject, the more disenchanted with it they become (see e.g. Davies & Brember, 2001), i.e., AO (and therefore also length of instruction) do not

have a significant effect on motivation. CLIL in secondary school, on the other hand, has a significant impact on students' motivation levels at the end of secondary education.¹⁰

6. CONCLUSION

It was my goal in this study to not see CLIL “in a vacuum”, as Bruton (2011: 531) fears happens in most CLIL studies, but to examine four different real-life educational scenarios that have been or are currently practiced in the Swiss system. As DeKeyser (2012: 190) rightly points out, interactions between individual variables and external, educational or contextual variables allow for more fine-tuned (and hence more generalizable) predictions that help to adapt teaching methodologies to students or curriculum design.

Like so many previous studies (e.g. Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz & Halter, 2004; Lasagabaster, 2011), my analysis has shown that CLIL programs should be boosted as they exert a very positive influence on learners' FL achievement. Since CLIL is not very well established in Switzerland, it still has to struggle for recognition and support. To date, intensive EFL is an optional program available to a minority of (high-achievement) students. In light of the finding that it is particularly low-level learners that make the most impressive progress in an intensive program (see e.g. White & Collins, 2012), it is highly recommended to implement a plan to offer intensive EFL to more secondary school students in Switzerland.

Furthermore, a number of (well-known) problems have emerged in this study, similar to previous studies of the outcomes of CLIL programs:

- (1) One obvious limitation in this study is that since the CLIL groups not only had English classes (language classes), but also three school subjects which were taught in English, two variables were conflated at the same time in the CLIL groups: type of provision and exposure (see Bruton, 2011; Cenoz et al., 2014). In other words, the CLIL students received many more hours of (formal and informal) EFL instruction than any of the other groups. This is probably one of the most fundamental issues for CLIL researchers and can only be resolved with complementary qualitative analyses (see Pfenninger & Singleton, in prep.).
- (2) One factor that can be – and has to be – controlled for in the future, however, is aptitude, based on the insight that “CLIL can attract a disproportionally large number of academically bright students” (Mehisto, 2007: 63). It would greatly enrich the CLIL field to analyze the impact of aptitude at the beginning and at the end of

¹⁰ In another large-scale study (see Pfenninger and Singleton forthcoming.) I administered end-of-program questionnaires to the students, and the responses consistently show high levels of enthusiasm among all students and considerable confidence in their acquired abilities to express themselves in English.

immersion programs, so that the effect of intensive learning contexts could be more effectively assessed from a theoretical perspective. Even though the four groups in this study started with similar overall academic achievement according to previous grades in English, the CLIL participants might have profited from cognitive advantages that could not be captured in this research design.

- (3) Related to (2), another caveat that needs to be mentioned is that there was no pretest. Even though the four groups in this study started with the same percentage averages in English, the CLIL participants might have profited from cognitive advantages that could not be captured in this research design. Of course, there might also have been language competence differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL groups that were not reflected by the students' grades, as was the case in Alonso, Grisaleña & Campo (2008).
- (4) Because of the diversity of CLIL programs in Europe and the lack of conceptual clarity (see Cenoz et al., 2014), it is difficult for researchers to provide a clear and detailed description of CLIL classrooms/programs.

This calls for further (critical) research into the methodological approach in which foreign language teaching takes place.

In a next step, it also seems to be interesting to analyze which input measures (length of instruction in years, use of English as the language of instruction, number of curricular and extracurricular lessons, amount of time spent in a naturalistic immersion situation abroad, current informal contact with the target language) are more strongly associated with long-term L3 performance and how aptitude factors into this process (see Pfenninger & Singleton, in prep.).

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THE STUDY OF INTEGRATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVATION OF STUDENTS LEARNING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

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Abstract

The present article investigates the impact of two orientations - integrative and instrumental – on the motivation to learn English as a foreign language. It provides an empirical study based on a questionnaire answered by 197 middle and high schoolers in Lausanne, Switzerland. The focus lies on the analysis of the motivation orientations of these two groups of students according to three main variables: curriculum, plurilingualism and stay in an English speaking country. The study finds that for the informants integrative and instrumental motivation seem of similar importance. Important further influences on motivation were multilinguality and stays abroad.

Key-words: motivation, L2, integrativeness, instrumentality

1. INTRODUCTION¹

The present article investigates two orientations - integrative and instrumental - that impact the motivation to learn English as a foreign language. The study employs concepts elaborated by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972), by Gardner (1982), Dörnyei (2009a, 2009b), and Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011). Based on a questionnaire answered by middle school and high school students, we analyse whether teenagers' motivation in Lausanne is driven more by an integrative or an instrumental purpose at different stages of their education. To do so, we have carried out a qualitative and quantitative questionnaire study of 103 middle schoolers aged 13-15 who have been learning English for approximately two years, and 94 high schoolers aged 17-18 who have been learning English for approximately five or six years and are about to pass their high school leaving certificate. As English has become an important tool for supra-regional communication in Swiss multilingual society, this study aims to find whether specific trends emerge in specific contexts of this multilingual country. We thus

¹ The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, as well as the editor, Patricia Ronan, for their helpful advice. All remaining shortcomings are, of course, the author's responsibility.

study these two groups of students according to several variables: level of education, plurilingualism and stay in an English speaking country. In this questionnaire-based study, we thus analyse whether middle schoolers' and high schoolers' motivation in Lausanne is influenced by instrumental or integrative motivation - as well as the question how these two categories of students react with respect to the orientation of the curriculum, plurilingualism and stay in an English speaking country.

The article is structured as follows: in chapter 2, we define the integrative and instrumental types of motivation orientations. We also provide a brief overview of the Swiss linguistic context and present our expectations. In chapter 3, we will present our methodology and the questionnaire. In chapter 4, we will analyse and discuss the results. Finally, chapter 5 will be dedicated to the conclusion.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 DEFINING THE CONCEPTS OF INTEGRATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVATION

The construct of motivation has generated a significant amount of literature among scholars, and it appears that there is "little consensus on its conceptual range of reference" (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011: 3): Dörnyei and Ushioda state that the term "motivation is responsible for why people decide to do something, how long they are willing to sustain the activity, [and] how hard they are going to pursue it" (2011: 4). Gardner (1985:10) likewise stresses the importance of the desire to learn, but also the satisfaction obtained, in order to sustain the necessary work and strife in learning a second language. Gardner further insists on the fact that when doing such an activity, satisfaction must be "linked with a striving to do so, [otherwise] it is not truly motivation" (1985: 11).

Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) highlight two types of motivation orientations in foreign language learning: integrative and instrumental. Integrative motivation is defined as "reflecting a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group" (Gardner and Lambert 1972:132, as quoted in Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009:2). Dörnyei - without taking issue with Gardner's definition of integrativeness - takes this notion further. He states that "the term [integrativeness] is not so much related to any actual, or metaphorical, integration into an L2 community, as to some more basic identification process within the individual's self-concept" (Dörnyei and Csizér 2002: 453). Dörnyei proceeds to qualify the individual's self-concept as the "ideal L2 self, which is the L2-specific facet of one's ideal self": if the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the 'ideal L2 self' is 'a powerful motivator' to learn the L2, because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between

our actual and ideal selves” (Dörnyei 2009b: 29). Taguchi *et al.* (2009) test Dörnyei’s research and come to the conclusion that “integrativeness can be interpreted as being an L2-specific facet of an L2 learner’s ideal self.” In other words, they provide “empirical evidence for the validity of equating the ideal L2 self with integrativeness” (Taguchi *et al.* 2009: 67).

As far as instrumental motivation is concerned, the concept refers to the “pragmatic utility of learning the L2” (Dörnyei 2009b: 26). In other words, if students learn the L2 “because it would be useful in obtaining a job or if it ma[kes] them better educated,” they would be classified as instrumentally oriented (Gardner 1985: 22). The concept of instrumentality, similarly to the one of integrativeness, has undergone developments thanks to subsequent research. Higgins (1987, 1998, in Dörnyei 2009b: 28) further divided the concept of instrumentality into two different types that she labels instrumentality with a promotion and a prevention focus. The former refers to “goals and hopes of becoming professionally and personally successful in the L2.” The latter “deals with duties and obligations that individuals perceive they have towards others” (Taguchi *et al.* 2009: 67).

In a recent large-scale, complex study, Heinzmann (2013) investigates motivations to learn English and French in primary students from the Canton of Fribourg. For these very young learners, the author finds “self-concept”, learning anxiety and positive attitudes towards the target language to be key variables impacting on motivation to learn these languages (Heinzmann 2013: 208).

2.2 THE SWISS CONTEXT

This section presents a brief overview of the status of English in Switzerland, as well as the status of English in the education system of the Canton de Vaud. In fact, these aspects are important in order to fully understand the discussion of the results in chapter 4. Switzerland is a multilingual country where “language and nation are not congruent” (Dürmüller 1997: 9). In fact, there are four national languages with a great disparity in terms of speakers, territory and status. The German speaking part of the country is the largest, followed by the French speaking part, and finally the Italian part. As far as Romansh is concerned, it is spoken by less than 1% of the Swiss population and is not considered an official language. On top of these four languages, many other languages are spoken in Switzerland due to important waves of immigration and the openness of the Swiss economy.

The non-national languages, along the same lines as the national languages, are not distributed evenly across Switzerland. English is mainly found in the urban areas of Zurich, Zug, Basel and the Lake Geneva region (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 18). The report highlights that in the German and French regions, English is the most widely spoken second language in

both the family and the workplace, more frequently used than other national languages (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 22). English has experienced the largest progression between 1990 and 2000 in both sectors. In the French part of Switzerland, English is spoken by 17.7% of the population, more often than German (15.4%) and Italian (6.8%). There has therefore been a massive increase in the use of English as a foreign language in the French part of Switzerland (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 50).

Given the great disparity in terms of speakers, territory and status with respect to the four national languages, and the rising importance of English as the most popular second-language among the Swiss population, Murray, Wegmüller and Khan (2000) state that English may be generalised as an “instrumental language” among the different linguistic groups in the country. In fact, the Swiss people who took part in the survey claimed that they mastered English better than any of the other national languages (Murray, Wegmüller and Khan 2000: 3).

After having reviewed the role of the English language in Switzerland, let us turn to the education system in the Canton de Vaud. It is first important to point out that each Swiss canton has their own education system, which is based only on Federal recommendation (Conférence des Directeurs de l'Instruction Publique). The main elements of the education system in the Canton de Vaud are as follows.

At the end of primary school (8P), students are divided into different programmes according to their aptitudes. They are placed in a three-year VG programme (9VG-10VG-11VG) standing for Voie Générale or a three-year VP programme (9VP-10VP-11VP) standing for Voie Prégymnasiale. Students who have completed a VG education are then given the choice to either start a vocational training (Formation Professionnelle Initiale) or attend an Ecole de Culture Générale (ECG) at high school. Students with a VP education typically later enter a Voie Maturité (M) at high school that prepares them to enrol at University.

The importance given to English in the educational programme has changed over the last few years. The Swiss economy is based mainly on exports. Partly for this reason, English has acquired a more prominent place in the language repertoire in Switzerland. In the past, Swiss students in the Canton de Vaud began learning English at middle school, at the age of twelve. Today, due to the perceived importance of English as a second language, students begin to learn English as of the age of ten, that is at the end of primary school. The growing importance of learning English has also impacted the educational system of other cantons. In Zurich, a portion of the population has expressed an interest in having primary school students learn English as a second language before learning French. In an article published in

Le Temps, a newspaper based in Geneva, Modoux speaks of guerre des langues (war of languages). He observes that:

Des signaux inquiétants se sont multipliés ces derniers mois. Dans plusieurs cantons alémaniques, des initiatives réclament un allègement de l'enseignement des langues «étrangères» au niveau primaire. Apprendre l'anglais et le français, c'est trop, se plaignent surtout des enseignants, mais aussi des parents. Des politiciens relaient ces doléances. La Suisse romande est sur la défensive car elle a compris que le français ferait les frais d'un repli alémanique sur une seule langue étrangère – forcément l'anglais. *Le Temps*.².

The importance of English has also had a large impact at the high school level in the French speaking part of Switzerland, where English has become viewed as more essential than German. In fact, for example, high school students now have the option to leave out German, yet English remains compulsory. This situation was anticipated in the report by Murray, Wegmüller and Khan (2000: 3) stating that English may acquire the status of first foreign language at school, before other national languages. In the next section, we will turn to the expectations of our results which will be discussed in chapter 4.

2.3 EXPECTATIONS

We expect motivation to learn English in Switzerland to be multifaceted, that is both instrumental and integrative: Andres and Watts (1993: 118) state that learners may be driven by instrumental motives, all the while expressing a strong desire “to assimilate to the culture of the native language community”. Along the same lines, Taguchi et al. (2009: 70) state that “it is reasonable that integrativeness is determined by both attitudes toward the L2 speakers and pragmatic incentives if it is an aspect of our ideal self to be personally agreeable and professionally successful” (Taguchi et al. 2009: 67).

Given the rising importance of English in the multilingual context of Switzerland, we expect the students to be interested primarily in the utility of learning English for their future jobs, earning a higher salary, or simply studying and living abroad. In fact, according to Lambert (1967, in Andres and Watts 1993: 118), if a language is used as a *lingua franca* in a given country, instrumental motivation to learn the language will dominate. The main reason for such a claim is that English will be assessed as a highly useful and indispensable tool for supra-regional communication. During a previous study run in 1988, Dürmüller (in Andres and Watts 1993: 118) found that at the high school level, in the German speaking part of Switzerland, instrumental motivation was stronger.

² Available at http://www.letemps.ch/Page/Uuid/357c54f6-7c79-11e3-87e1-5f55d2b2d249/Christoph_Eymann_pour_la_paix_des_langues. Accessed on 14/01/2014

In this study, we analyse whether middle schoolers and high schoolers' motivation in Lausanne follows the same trend as Dürmüller's findings - that is a stronger instrumental motivation - as well as study how these two categories of students react with respect to the orientation of the curriculum, plurilingualism and stay in an English speaking country.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 MEASUREMENT TOOLS

The current study employed a questionnaire in French following the procedure suggested in Dörnyei's work (2003, 2012) and based on the main components of Dörnyei et al.'s Hungarian studies (2006). Furthermore, other items relevant to our study were added to the questionnaire, e.g. an open-ended question where students were free to give their opinion on the benefits of learning English.

The questionnaire comprises three major parts: the first consists of items measuring the integrative dimension, that is the learners' attitudes toward the L2 community of the target language (questions 1 to 8), and the ideal L2 self (questions 1 to 8 on page 2), which refers to the "L2 specific facet of one's ideal self" (Dörnyei 2005: 106). The second part consists of items measuring the instrumental dimension, with a further breakdown to assess the promotion (questions 9 to 16) and prevention (questions 17 to 25) dimensions of instrumentality. We also gave the students the opportunity to express themselves in a qualitative question where they were free to choose three reasons pertaining to the benefits of studying English. Finally, the last part is composed of questions about the learners' background information (e.g. gender, age, nationality, class name, school name, orientation of the curriculum, stay abroad, mother tongue and languages spoken).

The final version of the questionnaire (see appendix 7.1) adopted both statement-type and question-type items; the former were measured by five-point Likert scales while the latter by five-point rating scale with "absolutely true" anchoring the left end and "not true at all" anchoring the right end. The total number of questionnaire items was thirty-four and, following Gardner (2010) rather than Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006), contained both positively and negatively keyed items in order to facilitate testing instrumentality with prevention focus..

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

The data was collected in a middle-school and a high school in the city centre of Lausanne in November and December 2013. A total of 197 students ranging from 12 to 21 years old (average age 16.10) participated in the survey. All the informants live in the Canton de Vaud

and study in Lausanne, and they are in the last two years of middle school - 10th and 11th grades -, or at high school - 1st, 2nd and 3rd year.

3.3 PROCESSING AND ANALYSING DATA

First of all, we converted the question-type items into numbers. “Absolutely true” anchoring the left end was converted into 5 and “not true at all” anchoring the right end into 1. Then, the data obtained were keyed in and analysed in Microsoft Excel. For each question, we calculated the mean, the mode and the standard deviation. These statistical tools enabled us to draw charts which provide an easier reading of the discussion of the results. We also ran chi-square tests to investigate whether the differences between the nominal variables were significant. We used $p < 0.05$ as the level of significance.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We will first provide a broad overview of the results, taking into account both integrative and instrumental dimensions. Then we explore the data further, and analyse how the level of education, the number of languages spoken by the informants and the time spent in an English speaking country interact with the integrative and instrumental motivation to learn English. In the charts below, the integrative dimension is based on the questions focusing on the attitudes towards the community (questions 1 to 8), as well as the ideal L2 self (questions 1 to 8 on page 2 of the questionnaire). Gardner associates the concept of integrativeness with attitudes towards the community, while Dörnyei also adds the ideal L2 self to this dimension. Instrumentality consists of both instrumentality promotion (questions 9 to 16) and instrumentality prevention (questions 17 to 25).

4.1 OVERALL RESULTS

As discussed in section 3, the integrative dimension is comprised of the learners’ attitudes toward the L2 community of the target language and the ideal L2 self. The instrumental dimension consists of both instrumentality promotion and prevention. Figure 1 below provides a global overview of the results of our survey. 5 represents “very much” and 1 “not at all.”

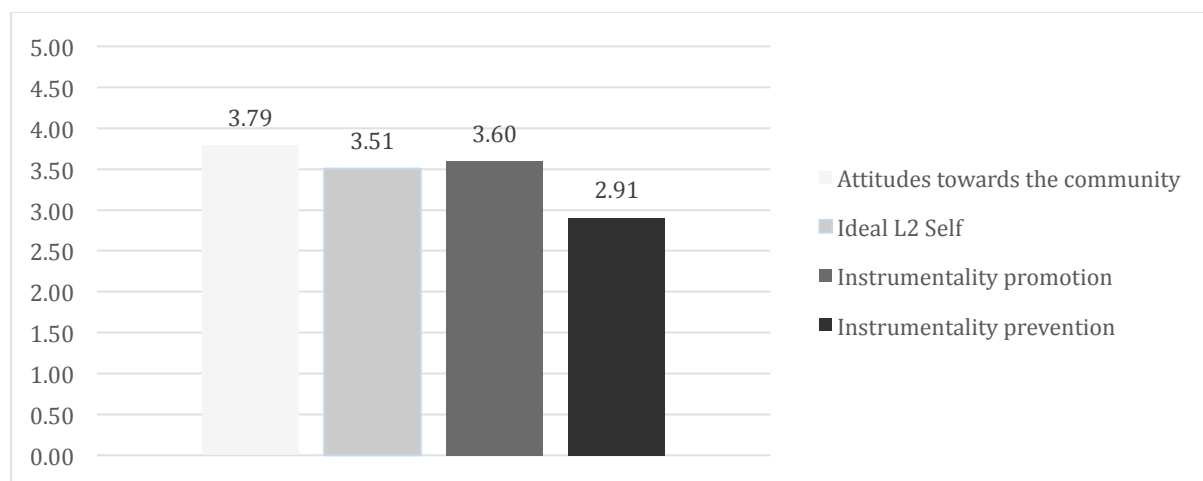


Figure 1: Statistical means: integrative and instrumental dimensions breakdown: all the informants

Among the variables that constitute the integrative dimension, we can see that the results are close, 3.79 for the attitudes towards the L2 community and 3.51 for the ideal L2 self, representing a variation of 7.38%. This result is extremely statistically significant at $t(392) = 4.34$, $p < 0.0001$ according to an independent samples t-test. This validates Dörnyei's (2009b: 27) assumptions and goes along the same lines as Tagushi et al's (2009: 67) findings. As stated in section 2, if a person's ideal self is to become proficient in the L2, s/he will automatically have a positive disposition toward the L2 speakers and culture.

As far as the instrumental dimension is concerned, the results show a larger difference between the instrumentality promotion (3.60) and prevention (2.91) variables, representing a variation of 19.16%, also extremely statistically significant at $t(392) = 5.66$, $p < 0.0001$ according to an independent samples t-test. Students' motivation in Lausanne to master English is therefore driven more by personal hopes and aspirations of becoming successful students and professionals than by the mere objective of obtaining good results, passing an exam or not disappointing parents. Therefore, the higher score achieved for instrumentality promotion shows that the informants value English as an important tool, and that they consider it useful for their future studies and careers. This seems to align with Lambert's assumptions (1967 in Andres and Watts 1993: 118): he states that the growing importance of English as a supra-regional tool for communication between the different linguistic regions of Switzerland should make instrumental motivation to learn the L2 stronger.

That said, our results need to be put into perspective since both the integrative and instrumental dimensions are very close. Hence, it is very difficult to draw clear conclusions.

We view different potential reasons for this outcome based on my personal experience as a teacher.

First, for the informants investigated in this study in Lausanne, frequent communication with individuals from other linguistic regions is a less prominent feature at this stage in their life. Therefore, the subjects in the sample do not yet consider English as an instrument for supra-regional communication.

Second, whenever there is supra-regional communication, it is very often held among family members, and in the language of the territory. As an example, interregional marriages bring individuals from the German and the French regions together. We have also often heard of German speaking grandparents communicating in French with their Romand grandchildren. In most cases, communication is not held in English and thus, the students in our sample may be too young to become fully aware of the pragmatic utility of speaking English in supra-regional communication. For a future research topic, it could be interesting to compare whether young professionals who are completing their vocational training after middle school, would respond similarly, being already in a professional setting.

Third, the content of the teaching programmes may impact on integrative or instrumental motivation of the students to learn the language. The middle school curriculum focuses more on the pragmatic facets of learning English than the high school curriculum, such as introducing oneself, ordering food at a restaurant, asking for directions, etc. We can also say that there are more tests at middle school than high school, influencing the results of the instrumentality prevention questions of those pupils. By contrast, the high school curriculum seems to insist more on objectives in terms of culture and literature (Département de la Formation, de la Jeunesse et de la Culture: 25).

4.2 EDUCATION LEVEL: MIDDLE SCHOOL – HIGH SCHOOL

We will now move on to the analysis of whether the levels of education - namely middle school and high school – impact on the motivation orientation. The results were statistically significant according to chi-square ($p = 0.003$).

Figure 2 below shows the results for all informants at the middle and high school levels.

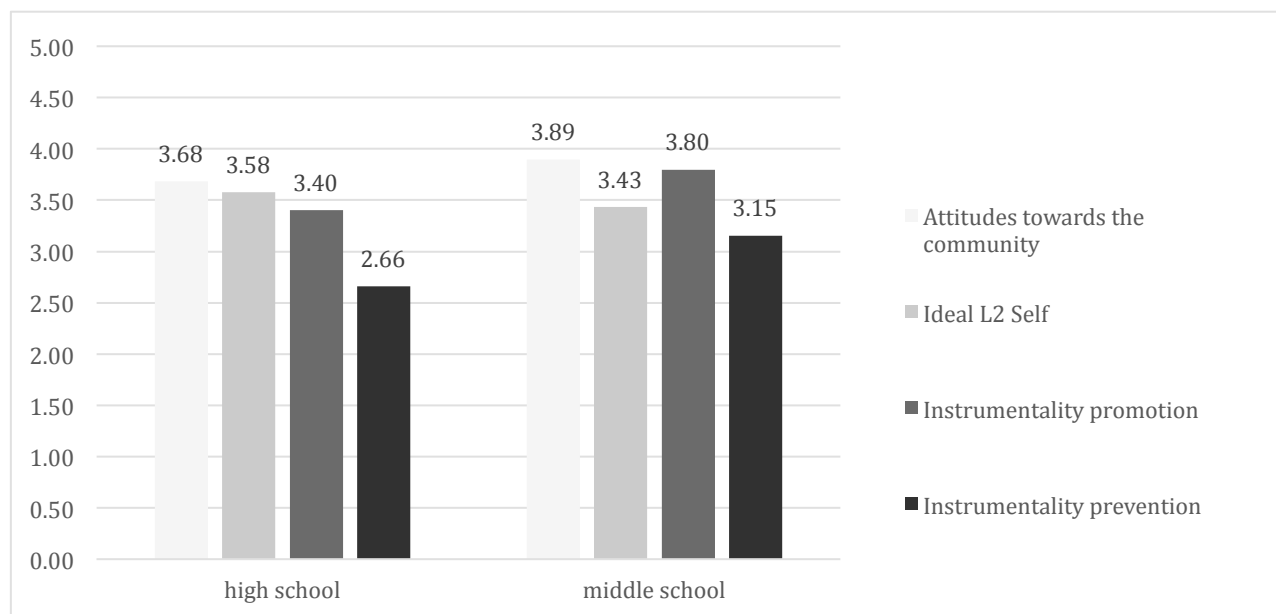


Figure 2: Statistical means breakdown: middle school vs high school

For each variable, the trend is similar. As far as the attitudes towards the native community are concerned, middle schoolers obtain an average of 3.89 and high schoolers 3.68. The attraction towards the L2 group seems to have a large impact among the students, even if it has become very difficult - due to the globalization process - to identify clearly with an L2 English speaking community. One explanation could be that teenagers are still very much fascinated by English pop songs, Hollywood movies, and the “Californian dream.” This could even be more so for the younger students at the middle school level.

As far as the instrumental dimension is concerned, the promotion and prevention variables vary to a certain extent. At the high school level, the variation represents 27.81% meaning that students are more motivated by promotional incentives, such as becoming successful students and professionals, than purely preventional motives, such as avoiding poor results. This result is statistically extremely significant at $t(392) = 6.72$, $p < 0.0001$ according to an independent samples t-test.

In middle school, the same trend can be outlined, that is, instrumentality promotion is a stronger motivation to learn the L2 than instrumentality prevention. Interestingly, this motivation is seen less at the high school level, the variation of 20.63% is statistically extremely significant at $p < 0.0001$, $t(204) = 5.66$ according to an independent samples t-test. Yet, surprisingly, the students’ answers to instrumentality prevention questions represent the

biggest difference between high schoolers and middle schoolers. Middle schoolers' average is 3.15 and high schoolers' 2.66, representing a variation of 15.64%, which is statistically extremely significant at $p < 0.0001$, $t(392) = 5.24$ according to an independent samples t-test. This may explain part of the conclusions in the preceding section. It was found that middle schoolers are more motivated to learn the language in order to obtain good grades than high schoolers, corroborating my experience as a middle school teacher.

4.3 THE INFLUENCE OF THE NUMBER OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN

In this section, we will analyse whether the number of languages spoken by the informants impacts on their integrative and instrumental motivation to learn the L2. For the sake of this exercise, we decided to analyse the results for the students who speak only one language, and those who speak two or more languages. The results are statistically significant according to chi-square ($p = 0.027$). This is noteworthy as Heinzmann (2013) found that the difference between mono- and bilinguality was not significant in her data.

We can see in Figures 3 and 4 that the students who speak more than one language show higher results for all the dimensions.

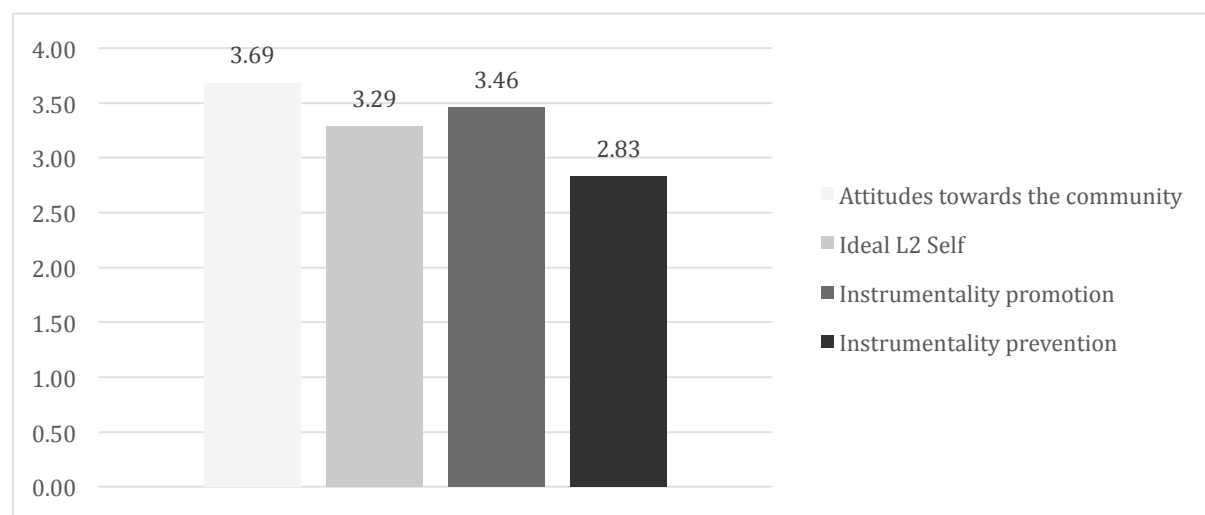


Figure 3: Statistical means: one language spoken: all the informants

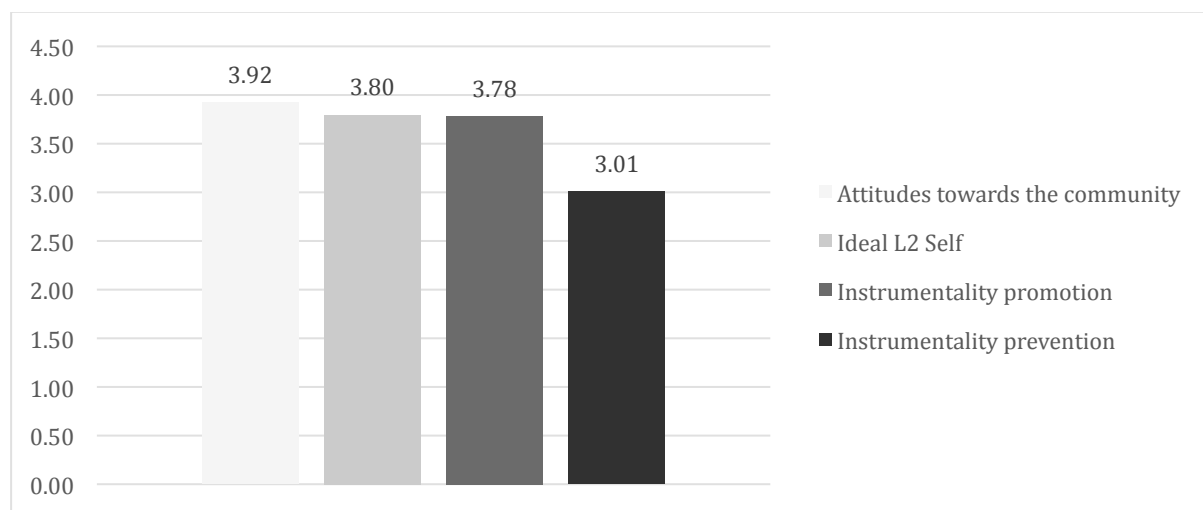


Figure 4: Statistical means: more than one language spoken: all the informants

Within the integrative dimension, students who speak more than one language have a more positive attitude towards the L2 community (+6.48%) and a stronger ideal L2 self (+15.44%). This is significant according to the t-test ($p = 0.006$). These results are not surprising. First, students who master another language, even if it is not English, have probably experienced closer and deeper contacts with an L2 community. We assume here that an L2 cannot be school learnt at the age of the informants in the sample and that mastering an L2 requires either a long stay abroad or being the family language. Consequently, these students are able to understand the L2 community better than those students who have never interacted with other L2 communities due to the language barrier. As a result, students who speak more than one language are more open, show more positive feelings towards the L2 community, and show have more respect for other cultures and ways of life (Dörnyei 2009b: 22-23). These features may impact on their intercultural communication skills.

Second, students who speak more than one language obtain a higher average for the questions testing the ideal L2 self (+15.44%, extremely significant according to a t-test, $p < 0.0001$). Those students seem to value the importance of being able to speak to an L2 community and may want to transpose the same positive feelings towards English L2 communities. In other words, they would like to reach the same level of satisfaction with English L2 communities, and, they are more motivated to reduce the discrepancy between their actual level of English and their desired level of English. The prospect of interacting with an English L2 community, as they do with their current L2 community, may be very motivating to them. These findings are in line with Dörnyei's (2009b:27) and likewise show

that students whose “ideal self is to become proficient in the L2 will automatically have a positive disposition toward the L2 speakers and culture” (Dörnyei *ibid.*).

As far as the instrumentality dimension is concerned, students who speak more than one language obtain a statistical mean of 3.78 to the instrumentality promotion questions, and those speaking only one language, 3.46 (the results are statistically very significant according to an unpaired t-test, $P = 0.0099$). This variation of 9.23% can be explained by Dörnyei’s findings. In fact, promotional instrumentality refers to the potential pragmatic gains of L2 proficiency and concerns “hopes, wishes and aspirations” towards a desired end-state (Higgins 1998: 5). Here, too, if the informants’ pragmatic goal is to exchange with an L2 English community, as they do with the community of the second or third language they speak, the informants will draw more motivation from this dimension.

Regarding the instrumentality prevention questions, students who speak more than one language answered on average 3.01 to these questions, and those speaking only one language, 2.83. This is a small variation of 6.16% that concerns “the duties, obligations, and responsibilities” (Higgins 1998: 5) that will ensure the avoidance towards a feared end-state. The difference is statistically not significant, $p = 0,15$, according to an unpaired t-test. Correspondingly, we do not think that being multilingual influences the answer to these questions to a great extent. Yet, we do find this result rather surprising in the sense that an individual who speaks more than one language should value instrumentality prevention less. His/her ease in many languages should mitigate the feeling of fear and obligation. In any event, what must be kept in mind is that a plurilingual repertoire may have a positive impact on the motivation to learn other languages.

4.4 STAY IN AN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY

In this section, we will analyse whether students’ time in an English speaking country influences their integrative and instrumental motivation to learn the L2. In our sample, the range goes from “never abroad” to two months abroad.

Figures 5 and 6 illustrate that the students who spent time in an English speaking country show higher levels of integrative motivation than those who have never been abroad. Moreover, it seems that the more time they spent abroad, the more this trend is reinforced. The figures show that students who spent a month abroad obtain a stronger mean for the attitudes towards the community, and the ideal L2 self by respectively 9.01% and 16.46%. For those who spent two months abroad, the corresponding variations are 2.45% and 25.86%.

We suspect that the explanation for these variations is similar to the ones discussed in the previous section. Students who have experienced privileged contacts with the L2 community

have a better knowledge of its culture and way of life. In addition, the more time students spent in an English speaking country, the more eager they are to learn English in order to integrate into their new community. Our results are in line with Gardner's (2002) conclusions; he states that "in the extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one's original group), but more commonly it might well involve integration within both communities" (as quoted in Dörnyei 2009b: 22-23).

The accentuation of the variation is even stronger for the answers to the ideal L2 self questions. When students are keen on integrating into the L2 community, their desire to reduce the discrepancy between their ideal and their actual self grows stronger overtime. The more they wish to integrate, the more they want to master the English language and successfully interact with their peers. Our results show this to be the biggest source of motivation.

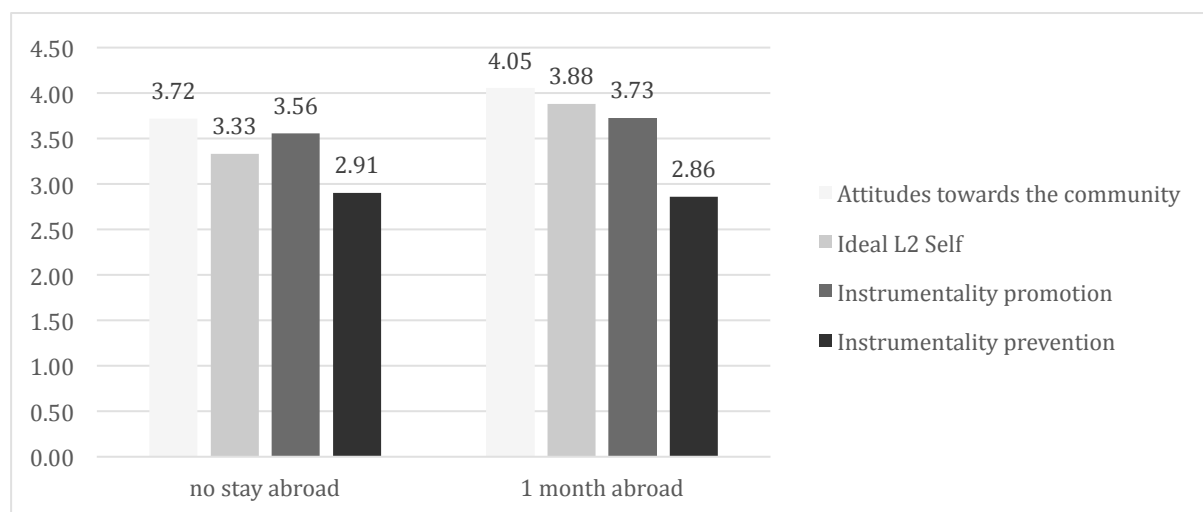


Figure 5: Statistical means: no stay abroad vs. one month abroad: all the informants.

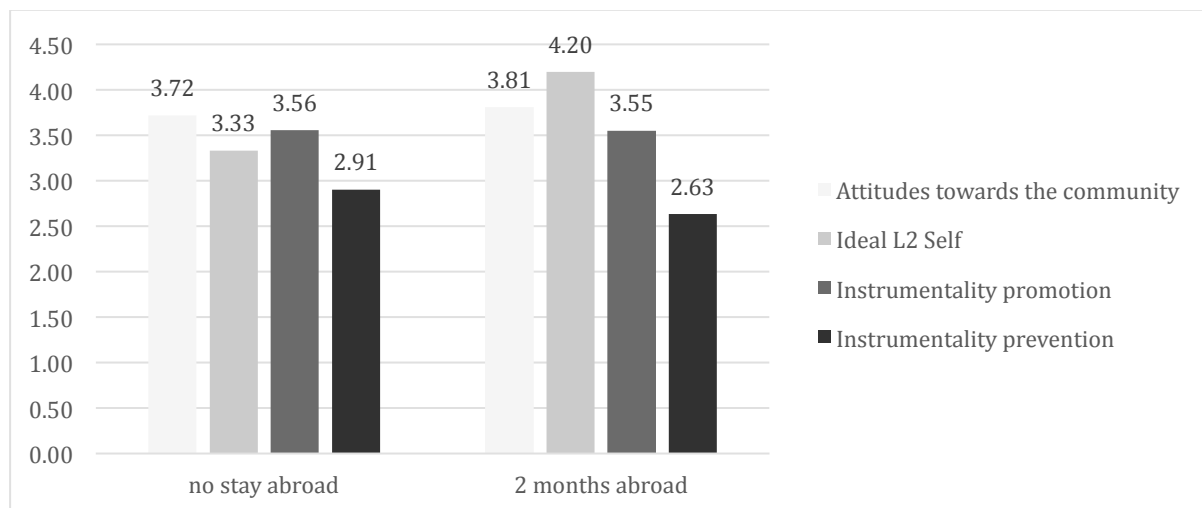


Figure 6: Statistical means: no stay abroad vs. two months abroad: all the informants.

Concerning the data for instrumentality, the variations are less pronounced than for integrativeness, yet a trend emerges which shows that students who have spent time abroad are less responsive to this dimension, and to a much greater extent to the instrumentality prevention questions. One of the reasons for these variations may be that those students who spent time with the L2 community are more motivated to learn the language in order to better understand the culture and to communicate than they are affected by prevention measures. In fact, they are not motivated to learn the language to avoid a “feared end-state.” They feel they want to learn the language for themselves, more than for potential “duties, responsibilities and obligations [they] have towards others (Dörnyei 2009b: 18). However, those students who are going abroad may already be more motivated than the other students in the first place. As a result, the directionality explained above does not necessarily follow as described.

On the instrumentality promotion side, we were surprised that our results do not show a stronger variation for the answers to these questions. As promotional instrumentality deals with hopes, wishes and aspirations (Higgins 1998: 5) it is the pragmatic utility of speaking English fluently in order to integrate as much as possible within the L2 community. Therefore, we would have expected the students to be more motivated by this dimension.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITATIVE QUESTION

At the end of the quantitative questions, students were given the opportunity to answer the following question “What benefits do you think learning English will have for you?” We summarized the answers Table 1, from the most to the least recurrent occurrences. We will then comment on the answers.

Table 1: answers by the informants to the qualitative question

1.	English is an international language that will enable me to communicate with lots of people around the world.
2.	English is important to have a good job and better opportunities.
3.	I want to travel around the world and to be able to have a conversation with other travellers and the locals.
4.	I would like to speak English to make new friends and have deeper contacts with them.
5.	English is important to be a successful student and/or study abroad later.
6.	I would like to understand English movies, songs, books, or computer games.
7.	Knowing English makes me a better educated person.
8.	I would like to live in the USA (or England) later.
9.	English will enable me to have a higher salary.
10.	I will be proud of speaking English.
11.	I want to read English literature.
12.	I love English.

We can observe at first sight that the answers given by both high school and middle school students give as much importance to the integrative as to the instrumental dimension. Answers 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 9 deal with instrumentality and answers 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12 deal with integrativeness. The results are therefore quite similar to the ones provided for the quantitative questions. Again, motivation is multifaceted. It seems that the informants in our sample are both driven by instrumental and integrative motives since they are interested in high achievements, as well as the English culture. We decided to include answer number 3 in both dimensions since it mixes an integrative and an instrumental aspect. It is instrumental in the sense that speaking English allows people to travel more easily around the world, but also integrative since students attach an importance to developing contacts with the locals.

This being said, there is a great disparity in terms of the number of occurrences of the benefits that students would like to draw from the English language. We cannot provide precise percentages since the question is open-ended, but we can outline some trends. While reading through the questionnaires, we realise that the first three answers were much more popular among the informants. The first “English is an international language that will enable me to communicate with lots of people around the world” , which could refer to both

integrative or instrumental motivation, was proposed by approximately two thirds of the informants. The following two were also very popular, and were written by about half of the students. Furthermore, answers 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were provided by about one quarter, and answers 9 to 12 were more marginal.

The reason for this outcome may be due to the way we formulated the question. In fact, when we prepared the questionnaire, we did not think of the fact that the word “benefit” has a connotation which leads the informants to give instrumental reasons for learning English first. In our case, the students immediately thought of pragmatic aspects of learning English such as work, travel and communication around the world. In order to be less biased, the replacement of the word “benefit” with a softer one like “advantage,” or the proposal of a wider question such as “why do you like English?” could have provided different results.

Moreover, it is interesting to highlight that the students’ answers deal mainly with instrumentality promotion. None of the students provided a negatively worded answer that would prevent them from attaining a “feared-end state.” Similarly to the quantitative results, the informants are less sensitive to learning English for preventative measures. We also noticed that the only students who said that they were learning English in order to get good test scores were at middle school level, confirming our previous quantitative results.

Concerning the answers to integrativeness, students seem integratively motivated by making new English speaking friends, understanding English movies, songs or books. High schoolers are also keener on learning English literature.

Further, we realised that informants are more inclined towards the American L2 community than the English L2 community. This is the reason why we put “or England” between brackets in question 8. Most students are fascinated by the “American dream,” and see themselves studying in prestigious universities like Harvard or Stanford. As an example, the picture below shows the drawing of a student in love with the United States of America. Consequently, we would say that both the attitudes towards the community, and the ideal L2 self dimensions weigh equally.

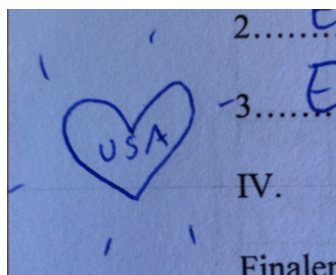


Illustration 1: drawing by a student on the questionnaire.

5. CONCLUSION

The overall results of this study display very close correspondences between the integrative and instrumental dimensions. Overall it seems difficult to differentiate both dimensions clearly, corroborating Tagushi et al.'s findings (2009: 67). People may have an interest in the learning process, high achievements and/or the English culture.

This situation proves unusual in the multilingual context of Switzerland where English should play an important role as a supra-regional communication tool (Lambert 1967, in Andres and Watts: 118). We ascribed this situation mainly to the young age of the informants and their lack of communication with citizens in other linguistic regions. Also, whenever there is interregional communication, the latter takes place more in a family context and therefore in the language spoken in the territory.

We also found that the components of the integrative dimension – attitudes towards the L2 community and the ideal L2 self - are very close. This is in line with Dörnyei (2009b) and Tagushi et al.'s (2009) findings: if a person's ideal L2 self is to become proficient in the L2, s/he will automatically have a positive disposition toward the L2 speakers and culture. As concerns the components of the instrumental dimension, we could observe that the informants are more sensitive to instrumentality promotion than prevention.

The analysis of the answers for instrumentality and integrativeness filtering on the level of education showed the results to be close as well, yet middle schoolers display a stronger instrumental motivation. This is partially due to the fact that for middle schoolers prevention focus, the avoidance of bad test scores, is a more important factor than for high schoolers.

The stronger disposition of the high schoolers could be due to the teaching programme. In fact, much importance is given to English culture, and literature in the high school curriculum. This could very well influence the students' motivation to learn English. The strongest instrumental motivation amongst middle school students can also be explained by their curriculum, which insists more on usage-based facets of learning English and more testing,

Third, we looked at two other variables: the number of languages spoken by the informants, and the time spent in an English speaking country. We saw that a plurilingual and de facto a pluricultural repertoire has a positive impact on the motivation to learn languages since the students display stronger results for all dimensions. This confirms the findings discussed in Dörnyei (2009b: 22-23), who finds that students who speak more than one language are more open, show more positive feelings towards the L2 community.

The same conclusions can be drawn for those who have had the opportunity of spending time in an English-speaking country. Moreover, a trend emerged which showed that the more time they spent abroad, the more they show positive attitudes towards the L2 community. Concerning their sensitivity to instrumentality, the results show that students who have spent time abroad are less responsive to this dimension, and to a much greater extent to the instrumentality prevention questions.

Concerning the benefits of learning English, we identified twelve recurrent answers, with an approximate equal importance given to instrumental and integrative reasons. The most popular responses were better career opportunities, and ease and enjoyment while travelling. These answers may be due to the connotation of the word benefit influencing the students to provide instrumentally oriented answers first. In addition, the answers only dealt with instrumentality promotion; none of answers dealt with prevention measures. The integratively oriented answers dealt primarily with the ability to understand English movies, songs or books. We deduct that students were more inclined to learn about the American L2 community than other English speaking communities.

This current study, however, is restricted in scope. It is based on the results drawn from an MA thesis project. Given a larger number of informants and more extensive cross-tabulation of results, e.g. by means of multivariate analyses, it is possible that additional correspondences and findings could have been made. For future research, we hope to be able to address these issues. It could further be interesting to carry out a similar research with young professionals who are completing their vocational training after middle school. Since they are already in a professional setting, we wonder if they would respond similarly to high school students. It would also be interesting to analyse the answers of university students, in order to see if some trends that emerged between the middle school and high school students are reinforced at the university level. A third approach would consist of comparing the answers of German speaking students with French speaking students.

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UNORTHODOX REFLECTIONS ON ENGLISH (LINGUISTICS) IN SWITZERLAND

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Abstract

The present article constitutes a critique of orthodox linguistics based on language-philosophical reflections. Taking the 'Pan Swiss English Project' as a typical example of how linguists at Swiss universities approach the topic of English in Switzerland (Pablé, 2013), I will argue that the results and conclusions drawn from this kind of research tell us little *per se*; the reason for this being that linguists assume their view about the world and the languages that inhabit it to be in no need of further explanations or justifications – in other words, they do not regard their own philosophy of language and linguistics as determining the kind of research questions asked. Instead linguists working on Lingua Franca English, and more generally on World Englishes, are busy collecting 'data' as a means of ascertaining whether a newly discovered variety of English 'out there' exists or not. This article introduces the reader to a non-mainstream approach within linguistics called *integrationism* or *integrational linguistics* (Harris, 1996; 1998) that advocates a semiology that makes a belief in 'languages', 'dialects', 'varieties' as *first-order realia* redundant. Integrationists believe that an integrational semiological theory is preferable to any mainstream semiological theories presently on offer because only the former is in accord with our everyday lay linguistic (i.e. communicational) experience.

Key-words: Pan Swiss English, Varieties of English, English as a lingua franca, ontology of languages, surrogationalism, integrational linguistics, teaching linguistics at university, teaching English in Switzerland.

1. INTRODUCTION

Roy Harris, Professor of General Linguistics at Oxford, once wrote that "the intellectual biases built into an academic discipline are most clearly revealed by considering [...] what questions pertaining to the phenomena falling within its domain cannot be raised within the theoretical framework it provides" (1990: 153). For Harris, linguistics certainly qualifies as such an intellectually biased discipline. What, then, are the questions that cannot be raised within academic linguistics? One might already object at this point that all the relevant questions have been, or are being, asked by linguists, and (at least some) relevant answers given. Take English linguistics, for example: the historically well-established notion that the English language is only *one* has been discarded as mythical and replaced by a more legitimate object of study in sociolinguistics, namely that of *Englishes*. The use of the plural is important here, as the name directs our attention to a matter of taxonymy: the forms of

English used outside the mother country are not subordinate varieties – mere ‘dialects’ and ‘creoles’, or even ‘corrupt English’ – they are all *Englishes* on a par with British English. The case is somewhat comparable to a recent scientific study that concluded that the Australian dingo (*canis lupus dingo*), formerly classified as a subspecies of the grey wolf, actually belongs to a separate species distinct from both dogs and wolves. Analogously, Bahamian English, Hong Kong English and St. Helena English are distinct from British English in classificatory terms. As the dingo, originally a native dog of Asia, developed into a separate species on Australian soil, so did the English dialects brought by the settlers turn into something new – not a new species but an independent variety – a new English. In fact, a case could be made for dialectology – in particular its *Varieties of English* offshoot – espousing a language philosophy that takes its inspiration from the biological sciences. Both disciplines entertain an ambiguous relationship with lay nomenclatures: both the linguist and the biologist rely on them, while at the same time regarding them as unreliable: thus it was once believed that whales are fish (cf. German *Walfisch*), while slow-worms are considered by many to be snakes; the Australian dingo, in turn, is commonly called *Australian dog* or *Australian wolf*, though apparently it is neither of the two. These are language-philosophical questions, i.e. they concern the ‘world as it was/is’ and its relationship to language, and more specifically to words in their function as *names*, general and proper. The theoretical framework within which dialectology and its sociolinguistic offshoots operate allows one to raise questions pertaining to the phenomenon of ‘languages’, ‘varieties’, ‘dialects’, ‘registers’, etc: after all, this was the *raison d'être* of the discipline in the first place. The phenomenon itself was never in question.

The list of names denoting distinct varieties of English (both past and present) is constantly growing, with disagreements over certain classifications dividing the scholarly community: is African-American Vernacular English a dialect, a creole or a distinct language? Was Middle English a creole or creoloid? Is there Euro-English? No-one within the academic linguistic community, however, would ever dream of asking more fundamental questions, e.g. whether ‘languages’ exist, and hence whether ‘English’ exists. This is a very different matter from asking whether AAVE is ‘a language’, the idea being that if it isn’t, then it must be something else – but ‘something’ that can be pinned down nevertheless. In fact, among most linguists it would be seen as a mark of irrationality to ask for evidence that, say, English exists. The argument rests on the common sense notion that in order to communicate, we need to communicate ‘in a language’. The focus, within the *World Englishes* paradigm, is on the shared codes making this ‘thing’ we call communication possible in the first place. Communication presupposes languages, the reasoning goes, and not vice versa. Roy Harris’ charge that academic linguistics is intellectually biased can thus

easily be dismissed by the orthodox linguist, who after all is devoted to studying real phenomena, i.e. languages, whose existence non-linguists (i.e. lay people) have known about long before the advent of linguistics as an academic discipline. If it is accepted that verbal communication has to be done in a language (e.g. 'English'), then it makes sense to assume that the language-names used in lay discourse refer to something real. If the name *English* does not refer to the ontological reality 'English', what use are words in their functions as names? If words functioning as names of things stand for the things they denote, then language-names, one would expect, signify what they stand for, and hence languages must be ontologically real. Furthermore, the word *English* must be a word belonging to a language (i.e. 'English'), or else how could the word function as a name at all for (monolingual) communicational purposes?

Arguably, one could make the point that it is unlikely that there are conventional names for natural languages that, upon closer inspection, turn out not to exist. Imagine a linguist declaring the following: 'Up to now linguists believed that the Walla-Walla speak Walla-Wallish (or Walla-Wallian), but it turns out that there is no such language'. If indeed the ordinary language-name *Walla-Wallish* has been used to denote more than merely an imagined language spoken by an imagined community, then there must be a people, the Walla-Walla, who say of themselves (or of whom others say) that they speak this language, i.e. the latter is distinctly different from other languages identified by a different name, irrespective of whether Walla-Wallish is believed by some to be merely a 'dialect' of another language. Language-names have 'real' referents in precisely this sense. To state this, however, is not to imply that reality is in need of scientific verification by a language expert. There is no going beyond lay linguistics as far as language-names are concerned.

2. INTEGRATING LANGUAGES

What many language scientists seem to forget, and others prefer to ignore, is the fact that any theory of language and communication rests on semiological assumptions. The assumption consists in considering signs as either determinate or indeterminate. Present-day sociolinguists often pay lip service to the notion of *indeterminacy*, but their own research would hardly make sense if that was really what they believe in. They are, like most other orthodox linguists, heirs to a sign theory developed in Ancient Greece that treats signs as determinate. For the linguist, there is no other way of conceiving of signs other than as either determinate or partly indeterminate (the latter being the more fashionable view these days), which is why determinacy as such is never questioned. In this way, certain questions simply never arise and, as a consequence, certain answers are never forthcoming, either. Roy Harris, on the other hand, developed an 'integrational' theory of the sign (Harris, 1996), which treats

signs as *radically indeterminate* while also accounting for why signs have traditionally been regarded as determinate in both lay discourse and academic discourse. If signs are indeterminate in both form and meaning, as the integrational linguist claims, a different theory of reference follows as a logical consequence – one where there is no stable (i.e. context-independent) relationship between name and what the name stands for (Pablé, 2009). Metalinguistic terms thus become context-dependent like any other words: *English* means what someone makes it mean in the given circumstances, i.e. how someone *integrates* the sign created in the here-and-now with one's past experience and in anticipation of one's future experience. A sign can only be a sign if it is integrated by a sign-maker, or else it is not a sign. In an integrational semiology signs are the products of first-order communicational activities: they do not have the status of signs prior to communication, which means that they do not belong to any previously established fixed-code (i.e. a language) having an independent ontological status. From an integrational point of view, therefore, it is a mistake to believe that the world is populated with languages, dialects, linguistic varieties, etc. (Orman, 2013), and that language-names (functioning as objective labels) identify them either correctly or incorrectly. The integrationist does not deny that there are differences between what is commonly called 'English' and what is commonly called 'Japanese'. In this sense, it would be wrong to assume that integrationists regard the label 'English' as a pure linguistic construction having no affinity with the real world. What the integrationist holds is that *signs are not shared* because every individual has got their own unique communicational experience. If a sign is assigned the status of a sign belonging to a language system (e.g. 'the word *English* is an English word'), this is meaningful insofar as the assignment pertains to a communicational act defined by three human parameters, namely factors of a macrosocial, circumstantial and biomechanical kind (Harris, 1998). To claim that, say, 'Hong Kong English' is an independent variety of English is like claiming that the dingo is a distinct species within the wolf family (*canis lupus*). The linguist working within the *World Englishes* paradigm considers both claims to be either correct or incorrect (depending on the most recent scientific research), as the language of science is a mirror-image of reality. What this means is that scientific English, unlike ordinary English, is in constant need of correcting in order to satisfy (be accurate with) language-independent states of affair. Language-names as used in linguistics are no exceptions to that. The integrational linguist, on the other hand, takes the two aforementioned claims to be attempts to *integrate* certain (historically grown) discourses and practices macrosocially, adding that the language-philosophical beliefs sustaining these claims are mythical assumptions about how language ought to work – assumptions that Roy Harris termed the 'Language Myth' (Harris, 1981).

3. ONTOLOGICAL MUDDLES

Scholars working in the domain of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) have embarked on a search for varieties of English, hoping to discover new – albeit already named – varieties, similar to Columbus, who, setting out to discover the East Indies, was also assuming he would naturally discover what the language spoken in the new land, i.e. Indian, was like. It was hardly expected that the *indios* would speak any known European language. Columbus, however, may have expected the peoples of the Indies, once subjugated, to become speakers of Spanish: perhaps he and his crew were already imagining this new variety, calling it ‘Indian Spanish’, while still at sea. So, based on our lay experience that every people has got its own language (first language) and makes the language of others its own (i.e. second and third languages), wouldn’t one expect to find that present-day Germans speak *German English* and the Chinese *Chinese English*? What would the main criteria be for deciding whether these varieties exist or don’t exist? Accent or pronunciation, along with specific grammatical patterns, seem likely candidates: what marks the *spoken* English of Germans as distinct from other European Englishes is, first of all, a German accent – one would expect. But non-native accent alone cannot function as a valid criterion in a linguistics interested in describing linguistic systems: independent varieties have got their own identity because they vary on all levels of linguistic analysis (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, discourse, etc.) – and it is only by combining the specificities found at the various levels that one variety can be distinguished from another. Thus a research project entitled ‘The Chinglish Accent’ would hardly be acceptable (i.e. fundable) within an academic context, as non-native pronunciation, intonation and stress patterns easily lend themselves to imitation and mockery, as any skilled comedian will attest. Foreign (and ‘rustic’) pronunciations of English may be a legitimate subject in folklore studies, e.g. as part of stock characters’ theatrical performances, but have no place in a *scientific* linguistics (which is ‘lay-oriented’ only to a certain point). That such is the attitude among academic linguists transpired when 15 years ago three British Professors of English, all teaching at Swiss universities, launched a project on ‘the linguistics of English in Switzerland’ (Trudgill, Watts and Allerton, 2000), whose aim it was to find out whether an endonormative variety of English (later called ‘Pan Swiss English’) was in the process of developing, and whose characteristics were, as one researcher put it, morphological, syntactic and lexical – but not phonological (Rosenberger, 2009: 130). Swiss Germans may have a ‘Swiss German’ accent when speaking English, while Swiss French and Swiss Italians have a ‘French’ and ‘Italian’ one, but that was not what the linguists were after in this large-scale project: *Pan Swiss English* was to be a variety shared by all Helvetians, and hence focussing on Swiss people’s pronunciation would only hinder the discovery of what might turn out to be a new Swiss linguistic identity. The Swiss National Science Foundation

supported the project (which resulted in the completion of three doctoral theses): the 'Pan Swiss English' hypothesis, it must have been decided, was scientifically sound (though perhaps in the end not tenable) as well as politically correct in some crucial aspects (while socio-politically challenging in others). What more could one expect from *a linguistics of English in Switzerland* geared towards the twenty-first century?

Once you entertain the idea that 'Euro English' and 'Pan Swiss English' might exist (see e.g. Mollin, 2006 and Rosenberger, 2009), it is already clear what kinds of questions you are going to tackle as a researcher working in academia. Thus one presenter at a Swiss postgraduate conference pondered the question whether Swiss English might be a 'pidgin' (Dröschel, 2003), as indeed the English spoken and written by Swiss nationals (and used as a means of intranational communication) could be considered a simplified non-native variety influenced in its grammar by various underlying 'substrate' languages. That the term *pidgin* is commonly used in connection with varieties spoken in (former) colonial settings, or for purposes of trade and commerce, does not seem to prevent researchers from applying the term to any contexts of multilingual contact: in other words, a 'pidgin' is much more than only what the established discourse in an academic discipline allows it to be. It is not that the term 'pidgin' as used in the aforementioned conference paper is to be understood as an ordinary language term: the question whether Swiss English is a 'pidgin' was, *nota bene*, asked in scientific English – not in ordinary English. The issue here – dating back to hundreds of years of philosophical debate – is ultimately about how words in their function as names relate to the things they stand for. In connection with a related term, another linguist, Manfred Görlach (1986: 330), already noted that some scholars had misused (or, as he put it, 'idiosyncratically redefined') the term *creole* when they suggested that Middle English was one: underlying such a claim there is Görlach's belief that there is something that a creole 'really' is, which makes it possible to say that certain 'things' are not creoles. In other words, Görlach is implying that some scholars attached their own idea to the word *creole*, i.e. what the word means no longer refers to the thing but to an idea in an individual's mind. Roy Harris recently described this kind of dilemma arising from holding a *surrogational* thesis of how words have meaning, termed respectively "reocentrism" and "psychocentrism", in relation to Charles Darwin and his discussion of the term *species* (Harris, 2009). When present-day historians and sociologists debate whether the events surrounding the 2014 student protests in Hong Kong could rightly be termed a 'revolution', they are implicitly subscribing to the very same surrogational fallacy about language: political-ideological questions thus receive impartial scientific answers. All of these concerns stem from certain expectations about how the language of science, and science communication more broadly, have to work. Thus, according to the surrogational thesis, there must be a correct answer to the question whether

or not Swiss English is a ‘pidgin’. No linguist – not even the most constructionist of sociolinguists – would be satisfied with the explanation that what a pidgin is will depend on how the respective word is defined in a certain language, just as the majority of historians will not accept the structuralist linguistic thesis according to which *revolutions* are not things but only words belonging to a certain language system (here: English).

Mercedes Durham, another linguist pondering the existence of a Pan Swiss ELF variety, concluded that its ‘existence’ only manifests itself with respect to the variable use of the future tense (2014: 154), insofar as the Swiss medical students of German, French and Italian linguistic backgrounds, whose email correspondence formed the corpus underlying the study, “rather than adopting the native patterns, [...] shared their own set of patterns, different from native ones, but identical across the three groups”. Durham concludes: “Switzerland has not yet reached a stage where a fully separate, pan-Swiss lingua franca exists”. She also speculates (2014: 156) that in Switzerland the *going to* future might be completely replaced by the *will* future one day, adding that “it will be up to language teachers to decide whether this distinction is worth preserving or whether ELF simply does not need two similar variants”. Durham’s open prediction is a good example of the language attitude typical of the sociolinguist, whose general sympathies lie with descriptivism (especially as regards native varieties), who, however, cannot dismiss prescriptivism altogether when it comes to foreign language teaching. In other words, teachers of English are still the experts, but in a globalized Switzerland, where English is now *de facto* the first foreign language used, the native English teacher ideology (native speakers prescribe what is correct) is being questioned by the socially committed linguist: thus, introducing the *going to* future to Swiss learners of English might not be necessary after all – because, as shown in the sociolinguistic research, Swiss users of English don’t resort to it. The question never asked in this kind of study, however, is: does one have to be a speaker of *some variety*, as one chooses among several forms expressing futurity (*will*, *shall*, *going to*, *present simple*) when writing an email in English? As the linguist would be quick to respond, it is not really a question of ‘choice’: Swiss English is not a ‘performance register’ or a ‘stylised dialect’; if it exists, it exists as a natural variety whose speakers share a mental grammar and its variable rules. Whatever the individual person thinks he/she is doing is not necessarily what he/she is ‘really’ doing. You thought you spoke English? Well, yes and no. It turns out that you speak ‘European English’. If you’re Swiss, moreover, you are naturally inclined towards political independence, and hence it is more befitting that you’re a speaker of ‘Swiss English’. A non-native speaker saying or writing *I know him since three years* is making two grammatical mistakes; if the mistakes are made on a regular basis by the speakers of the non-native group (how many of them?), this is said to be evidence that a distinct mental grammar has developed in the heads

of these speakers. The mistake is 'really' not a mistake any more, as the new variety of English is now declared (by the linguist) to be independent of the old variety of English. If asked about individual freedom and free will, the linguists will always defend their position explaining that their job is to describe the varieties that communities of speakers share, i.e. the abstract system. And they will add that to claim that a person is a speaker of some variety is merely to make a statement on one particular level of ontological reality. Like this, every academic with an interest in language and/or communication can have their cake *and* eat it.

4. EDUCATION AND THE 'LANGUAGE MYTH'

Given their commitment to a surrogational thesis of how metalinguistic words mean, linguists do not rest content, i.e. do not see it as their job, to merely collect and systematise lay metalinguistic discourse about 'languages', 'dialects', 'slang', etc.; they are driven by the idea that *qua* language experts it falls upon them to restore taxonomic order to a world epistemologically corrupted by lay linguistics. For example, whenever a lay person asserts that some groups of people only speak 'slang' with no grammar, implying that they don't really speak 'a language', as some lay people seem to believe (Bauer & Trudgill, 1998), the linguist who happens to be present will want to offer therapeutic assistance. At the tertiary educational level, introductory courses to linguistics can fulfil precisely this function, namely of being lessons in linguistic therapy for novices. Courses in integrational linguistics also have a therapeutic purpose, albeit a very different one, i.e. restoring the students' confidence in their own personal linguistic experience.

Students of English linguistics are being served the same account over and over again: they are lectured about the 'history of English' and the diversification of the language into its varieties over time and the internal and external processes that led to this multitude of *Englishes* (including ELF varieties of English). The orthodoxy keeps a tight grip on the curricula making sure no heresies or irrational theories are being told to students: by all means, there are plenty of 'unorthodox' courses on offer within the orthodoxy: one may only think of all those fields and approaches labelled 'critical' that today's students of linguistics encounter during their studies (e.g. *Critical Discourse Analysis*, *Critical Applied Linguistics*, *Critical Ethnography*), but none of these really abandon the idea that fixed-codes ('languages') constitute first-order communicational realia – and if they do so they are not backed up by a robust alternative semiological theory. To the best of my knowledge, integrational linguistics is the only linguistics insisting on the *radical indeterminacy of the sign* and acting consistently on the consequences arising from this theoretical position. Why not introduce students of English to this brand of 'critical' linguistics? I have written elsewhere on my experience of teaching Harris and integrationism at tertiary educational

level (in the English departments of Lausanne and Hong Kong) and some of its empowering effects (Pablé, 2012): it remains to be seen whether lecturers might not one day grow tired of teaching English phonology, English syntax, etc. as if these fields of knowledge existed in a discursive vacuum, i.e. as if there were facts ‘out there’ about the phonological and syntactic rules of English (or Englishes), which in turn warrants the assumption that languages have ‘histories’ – that is, without raising questions pertinent to the philosophy (and history) of linguistics. Ceasing to believe in the convenient myth that linguistics is a *science* might be a first step in the right direction. A ‘demythologized’ linguistics, as envisaged by Roy Harris, does not mean that we should stop teaching mainstream courses in linguistics: it means putting the discipline into its proper philosophical and historical context and by doing so raising students’ awareness that there are alternative (and incompatible) epistemologies and that not all academic linguists agree on the fundamentals of language and communication.

I doubt whether linguists working in the English departments of Switzerland presently have anything incisive to say about English in Switzerland: the Pan Swiss English project, at any rate, was an intellectual dead end from the onset, but it combined linguistic relativism with the kind of empirical realism that science foundations, like the SNSF, seize on in order to grant money to the (underprivileged) humanities disciplines. The Swiss universities of teacher education, in turn, have made a great song and dance about the introduction and implementation of *Early English* at primary school level, which also meant that the Swiss primary school teacher who had so far taught our children (*magister helveticus communis*) was going to be replaced by a new and more able species, the teacher certified in the English language (*magister helveticus anglicus*). Could it be that the latter will be the one introducing our children to ‘Swiss English’, thus helping our nation to make English our own? I must confess that I haven’t seen much of the egalitarian spirit characterizing the descriptive approach to ELF varieties of English in the teaching and testing of Early English at Swiss primary schools, which is characterised by a highly normative linguistic attitude: for example, the latest pedagogical theory seems to demand that forgetting to write the period at the end of the sentence in the English (or French) test be counted as a full mistake each time (how many primary school pupils does it take for turning this mistake into a feature of Swiss English?).

5. CONCLUSION

These days ‘applied’ research projects in linguistics reign supreme. The ‘Early English’ project is a perfect example of how empirically-minded linguists can be kept busy – and whole teams of postgraduate students recruited. The ‘Pan Swiss English’ project is another such example: as long as empirical ‘data’ is involved, there is the wrong expectation that concrete results will follow and that the money invested in such projects is well spent.

However, why language – and languages – should be ‘given’ in the first place is a question never tackled. As far as I know, no-one has ever presented irrefutable proof of the existence of an abstract linguistic system or a mental grammar. I do not think that seeking funding for a research project intended to provide the necessary proof would be a step in the right direction. The fundamental questions for linguists to ask are language-philosophical questions and they need to have a lay-orientation.

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CONCLUSION

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The studies in this volume have discussed and presented new developments in the fields of multilingualism in Switzerland, English as a *lingua franca* and an international language in Switzerland, as well as English in education. The specific situation of Switzerland as a multilingual country, which itself has majority and minority languages with unequal degrees of representation, has been taken into account. It has also been shown that the status of English in Switzerland cannot be separated from the international importance of the English language and that both its international economic importance as well as positive attitudes towards English determine its use in Switzerland. This situation supports Mair's (2002) assessment that the continued international spread of English is both a grassroots movement and driven by economic concerns.

Investigating multilingual Switzerland, Rahael Berthele's contribution has highlighted shortcomings of language planning in Switzerland concerning linguistic minorities. While he finds highest rates of monolingualism at middle-tier social levels, he stresses the presence of a high multilingual competence plus English at the highest socio-economic level, contrasted with competences in one local plus a non-national language at low socio-economic levels. These linguistic minorities speaking non-national languages are not provided for in language planning. George Lüdi's contribution shows that even though the strongest of the non-national languages, English, fills a key position in intranational as well as in extranational communication in Switzerland, it is still very far from being used to the exclusion of the national languages, even in contexts in which it is generally considered to be very strong. Where national languages are used in such a multilingual context, they add an extra layer of meaning. These contributions show that we have to continue to pay attention to the question

of how non-territorial languages are used in Switzerland, in which domains increased support for the national languages must be given, and what this support should consist of.

This debate will need to address, on a larger scale than has been done so far, which languages should be taught in school and at what point and in which manner. Simone E. Pfenninger's study (in this volume) shows that, contrary to widespread belief, it need not necessarily be harmful to the pupils' English competence if teaching of English were carried out not as early as possible. Later onset learners catch up in many respects and other factors, particularly immersion classes and high motivation levels, lead to significantly better learning outcomes. That attitudes towards the English language are indeed favourable amongst school students is also shown in Mathieu Deboffe's study, which finds that the use of English-derived loan words is high in the language of Lausanne high school students. And indeed this is equally true amongst their counterparts in Amiens in France, which again underlines that the attraction of English is an international phenomenon. Such positive attitudes towards English will contribute to the frequently expressed demands for more English teaching by pupils and their parents (e.g. Coray 2001), as will the perception that English is an economically valuable language (e.g. Grin 2001). The understanding that both these factors do indeed impact on students' motivation is supported by Adriano Aloise's contribution, which finds that Lausanne middle- and high school students are motivated both intrinsically and instrumentally.

The outcomes of positive attitudes towards English in Switzerland have been modelled by Agnieszka Stępkowska (this volume) in order to account for the increasing use of English in Switzerland and to relate these to larger patterns of globalization of the English language. Relating to globalization of English, Mercedes Durham's contribution thematizes the disparity between *lingua franca* use of English and its foreign language status. The extent to which speakers of English have contact with the English language will determine the speakers' fluency and the extent to which they can abstract linguistic features of English so as to increase their sociolinguistic competence and to make their own language more or less similar to the varieties used with or by native speakers. Working from an *integrational linguistics* perspective, Adrian Pablé by contrast urges us to select broad and varied approaches to our study and teaching of English and to consider integrational semiological approaches.

Concerning multilingualism in Switzerland in general, a solid basis of studies exists, and changes can be tracked on the basis of census data (e.g. Lüdi and Werlen 2005, Werlen, Rosenberger and Baumgartner 2011). What we are less well provided with are recent studies on the use of English and on attitudes towards this language, also in relation to the national

languages which are based on large scale data from different linguistic regions of Switzerland. Results of the project at the universities of Basel, Berne and Fribourg, which led to the publications of Rosenberger (2009), Dröschel (2011) and Durham's (2014) monographs, are based on data collected in the early years of the 2000ies from a specific segment of society and focus more on linguistic performance than on language attitudes. Stepkowska's (2013) study offers such a recent survey of attitudes and use based on information from the canton of Zurich, while Heinzmann (2013) investigates young learners in Fribourg.

Similar new, large-scale studies based on all the linguistic regions of Switzerland are a further desiderate, and so are further studies that relate language attitudes to language use and to performance. It is to be hoped that pertinent projects may be drawn up in the near future to address the above mentioned issues, as well as questions on the status and the use of English in Switzerland, and that once such projects are drawn up, funding for these may also be secured. After all, investigation of these issues are of key importance for Switzerland, both in terms of national identity and cohesion and in terms of international chances and opportunities, including professional opportunities, for future generation of Swiss citizens. This holds for concerns of language planning as well as for the important work on teaching related issues. These topics are particularly relevant for Switzerland with its high levels of globalisation and its strong dependence on international markets because the Swiss economy is knowledge based, rather than on exploitation of national resources. Creating and monitoring efficient language teaching, language planning and sociolinguistic evaluations is therefore of prime importance for the community.

In addition, further coordination of existing research at the Swiss universities would be desirable, both to host databases and to facilitate larger-scale projects. Work on multilinguality and on the use of English in Switzerland is a relevant field for all researchers, and it is also a topic that is attractive for research by postgraduate students. Though a body of such work exists at all Swiss universities, problems frequently arise when coalescing these research results. As also thematized by Murray (2001), a problem concerning student research at the University of Berne was in the fact that different research settings and methodologies as well as differing research foci impaired comparability of the data. Naturally, particularly where postgraduate research is concerned, teachers want their students to train the creation of valid research setups and questionnaire studies rather than to simply offer their students ready-made setups. In order to tap into research resources and obtain comparable results throughout the country it would nevertheless offer interesting possibilities if sample research settings with prepared questionnaires could be devised for the use, be it by teachers or by

(post-graduate) students, at Swiss universities in different linguistic regions in order to create data bases of comparable research results on topics concerning English language use and attitudes in Switzerland. This dynamic field will continue to demand researchers' attention and if different angles can be covered and combined, researchers, language practitioners, language users and language planning can benefit.

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